



XENOPHON (c.430—c.354 B.C.) of Athens, son of Gryllos, and friend of Socrates, was a wealthy 'gentleman' of his day. He joined an expedition including ten thousand other Greeks led by the Persian governor Cyrus deep into Asia Minor against the Persian king who defeated and killed Cyrus. It fell to Xenophon to lead the Greeks northward through danger and stress until they reached Scutari early in 400 B.C. Later he wrote the famous extant vivid account of this 'March Up-Country' (*Anabasis*) in seven books—a true story of remarkable adventures and discipline; but meanwhile he entered service under the Spartans against the Persian king, married happily, and joined the staff of the Spartan king, Agesilaus. But Athens was at war with Sparta in 394 and exiled Xenophon for being 'pro-Sparta'. The Spartans gave him an estate near Elis where he lived for years writing and hunting and educating his sons. Reconciled to Sparta, Athens restored Xenophon to honour but he preferred to retire to Corinth. His *Memoirs of Socrates* adds to Plato's picture of Socrates from a different viewpoint. In the *Apology of Socrates* Xenophon

supplements Plato's similar work; and in the *Banquet* presents an attractive counterpart to Plato's. The charming *Oeconomicus* makes Socrates give advice on household management and married life of 'ordinary' people. *Hiero* is a dialogue on government, *Agésilas* praises that king; we also have *Constitution of Lacedaemon* (Sparta); *Ways and Means* on the finances of Athens; *Manual for a Cavalry Commander*; a good manual of *Horsemanship*; a lively *Hunting with Hounds*—mostly hare-hunting; a philosophical-historical romance *Education of Cyrus* (the Elder) on the ideal ruler and government; and the important *Hellenica*, (a history which purposely carries on Thucydides'), 411—362 B.C. *The Constitution of the Athenians*, though obviously not by Xenophon, is an interesting important document on politics at Athens.

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XENOPHON

II

HELLENICA

BOOKS V-VII

XENOPHON

IN SEVEN VOLUMES

II

HELLENICA

BOOKS V-VII

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

CARLETON L. BROWNSON

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XENOPHON'S HELLENICA

BOOK V

ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ

Ε

Ι. Καὶ τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ Ἑλλήσποντον Ἀθηναίοις τε καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις τοιαῦτα ἦν. ὧν δὲ πάλιν ὁ Ἑτεόνικος ἐν τῇ Αἰγίνῃ, καὶ ἐπιμειξία χρωμένων τὸν πρόσθεν χρόνον τῶν Αἰγινήτων πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ἐπεὶ φανερώς κατὰ θάλατταν ὁ πόλεμος ἐπολεμεῖτο, συνδόξαν καὶ τοῖς ἐφόροις ἐφίησι λήξεσθαι τὸν βουλόμενον ἐκ τῆς
2 Ἀττικῆς. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι πολιορκούμενοι ὑπ' αὐτῶν, πέμψαντες εἰς Αἶγιναν καὶ ὀπλίτας καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν Πάμφιλον ἐπετείχισαν Αἰγινήταις καὶ ἐπολιόρκουν αὐτοὺς καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν δέκα τριήρεσιν. ὁ μέντοι Τελευτίας τυχὼν ἐπὶ τῶν νήσων ποι ἄφιγμένος κατὰ χρημάτων πόρον, ἀκούσας ταῦτα περὶ τοῦ ἐπιτειχισμοῦ,¹ ἐβοήθει τοῖς Αἰγινήταις· καὶ τὸ μὲν ναυτικὸν ἀπήλασε, τὸ δ' ἐπιτείχισμα διεφύλαττεν ὁ Πάμφιλος.

3 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων Ἰέραξ ναύαρχος ἀφικνεῖται. κακεῖνος μὲν παραλαμβάνει τὸ ναυτικόν, ὁ δὲ Τελευτίας μακαριώτατα δὴ ἀπέπλευσεν οἴκαδε. ἡνίκα γὰρ ἐπὶ θάλατταν κατέβαινεν ἐπ' οἴκου ὀρμώμενος, οὐδεὶς ἐκείνον τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὃς οὐκ ἐδεξιώσατο, καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐστεφάνωσεν, ὁ δὲ ἐταινίωσεν, οἱ δ' ὑστερήσαντες

¹ περὶ τοῦ ἐπιτειχισμοῦ MSS.: Kel. brackets.

XENOPHON'S HELLENICA

BOOK V

I. SUCH, then, were the doings of the Athenians 839 B.C. and Lacedaemonians in the region of the Hellespont. Meanwhile Eteonicus was again in Aegina, and although previously the Aeginetans had been maintaining commercial intercourse with the Athenians, still, now that the war was being carried on by sea openly, he, with the approval of the ephors, urged on everybody who so wished, to plunder Attica. Thereupon the Athenians, being cut off from supplies by the plunderers, sent to Aegina a force of hoplites and Pamphilus as their general, built a fortress as a base of attack upon the Aeginetans, and besieged them both by land and by sea with ten triremes. Teleutias, however, who chanced to have arrived on one of the islands in quest of a grant of money, upon hearing of this (that is, in regard to the building of the fortress) came to the aid of the Aeginetans; and he drove off the Athenian fleet, but Pamphilus succeeded in holding the fortress.

After this Hierax arrived from Lacedaemon as admiral. And he took over the fleet, while Teleutias, under the very happiest circumstances, set sail for home. For when he was going down to the sea as he set out for home, there was no one among the soldiers who did not grasp his hand, and one decked him with a garland, another with a fillet, and others

ὁμως καὶ ἀναγομένου ἔρριπτον εἰς τὴν θάλατταν
στεφάνους καὶ ἠῦχοντο αὐτῷ πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθά.

- 4 γιγνώσκω μὲν οὖν ὅτι ἐν τούτοις οὔτε δαπάνημα
οὔτε κίνδυνον οὔτε μηχανήμα ἀξιόλογον οὐδὲν
διηγούμαι· ἀλλὰ ναὶ μὰ Δία τόδε ἄξιόν μοι δοκεῖ
εἶναι ἀνδρὶ ἐννοεῖν, τί ποτε ποιῶν ὁ Τελευτίας
οὕτω διέθηκε τοὺς ἀρχομένους. τοῦτο γὰρ ἤδη
πολλῶν καὶ χρημάτων καὶ κινδύνων ἀξιολογώ-
τερον ἀνδρὸς ἔργον ἐστίν.

- 5 Ὁ δ' αὖ Ἱέραξ τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ναῦς λαβὼν
πάλιν ἔπλει εἰς Ῥόδον, ἐν Αἰγίνῃ δὲ τριήρεις
δώδεκα κατέλιπε καὶ Γοργώπαν τὸν αὐτοῦ ἐπι-
στολέα ἀρμοστήν. καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἐπολιορκοῦντο
μᾶλλον οἱ ἐν τῷ ἐπιτειχίσματι Ἀθηναίων ἢ οἱ
ἐν τῇ πόλει· ὥστε ἀπὸ ψηφίσματος Ἀθηναῖοι
πληρώσαντες ναῦς πολλὰς ἀπεκομίσαντο ἐξ
Αἰγίνης πέμπτῳ μηνὶ τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ φρουρίου.
τούτων δὲ γενομένων οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι πάλιν αὖ
πράγματα εἶχον ὑπὸ τε τῶν ληστῶν καὶ τοῦ
Γοργώπα· καὶ ἀντιπληροῦσι ναῦς τρισκαίδεκα,
καὶ αἰροῦνται Εὐνομον ναύαρχον ἐπ' αὐτάς.

- 6 ὄντος δὲ τοῦ Ἱέρακος ἐν Ῥόδῳ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι
Ἀνταλκίδαν ναύαρχον ἐκπέμπουσι, νομίζοντες
καὶ Τιριβάζῳ τοῦτο ποιῶντες μάλιστ' ἂν χαρί-
ζεσθαι. ὁ δὲ Ἀνταλκίδας ἐπεὶ ἀφίκετο εἰς
Αἴγιναν, συμπαραλαβὼν τὰς τοῦ Γοργώπα ναῦς
ἔπλευσεν εἰς Ἐφεσον, καὶ τὸν μὲν Γοργώπαν
πάλιν ἀποπέμπει εἰς Αἴγιναν σὺν ταῖς δώδεκα
ναυσίν, ἐπὶ δὲ ταῖς ἄλλαις Νικόλοχον ἐπέστησε

HELLENICA, V. 1. 3-6

who came too late, nevertheless, even though he 389 B.C
was now under way, threw garlands into the sea and
prayed for many blessings upon him. Now I am
aware that I am not describing in these incidents
any enterprise involving money expended or danger
incurred or any memorable stratagem; and yet, by
Zeus, it seems to me that it is well worth a man's
while to consider what sort of conduct it was that
enabled Teleutias to inspire the men he commanded
with such a feeling toward himself. For to attain to
this is indeed the achievement of a true man, more
noteworthy than the expenditure of much money
and the encountering of many dangers.

As for Hierax, on the other hand, he sailed back
to Rhodes with the bulk of the ships, but left behind
him in Aegina twelve triremes and Gorgopas, his
vice-admiral, as governor. And after this it was the
Athenians in the fortress who were besieged rather
than the Aeginetans in the city; insomuch that the
Athenians, by a formal decree, manned a large
number of ships and brought back from Aegina in
the fifth month the troops in the fortress. But
when this had been done, the Athenians were again
molested by the bands of raiders and by Gorgopas,
and they manned against these enemies thirteen
ships and chose Eunomus as admiral to command
them. Now while Hierax was at Rhodes the Lace- 388 B.C
daemonians sent out Antalcidas as admiral, thinking
that by doing this they would most please Tiribazus
also. And when Antalcidas arrived at Aegina, he
took with him the ships of Gorgopas and sailed to
Ephesus, then sent Gorgopas back again to Aegina
with his twelve ships, and put Nicolochus, his

τὸν ἐπιστολέα. καὶ ὁ μὲν Νικόλοχος βοηθῶν
 Ἄβυδηνοῖς ἔπλει ἐκεῖσε· παρατρεπόμενος δὲ εἰς
 Τένεδον ἐδήου τὴν χώραν, καὶ χρήματα λαβὼν
 7 ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Ἄβυδον. οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων
 στρατηγοὶ ἀθροισθέντες ἀπὸ Σαμοθράκης τε καὶ
 Θάσου καὶ τῶν κατ' ἐκεῖνα χωρίων ἐβοήθουν
 τοῖς Τενεδίοις. ὥς δ' ἦσθοντο εἰς Ἄβυδον κατα-
 πεπλευκότα τὸν Νικόλοχον, ὁρμώμενοι ἐκ Χερρο-
 νήσου ἐπολιόρκουν αὐτὸν ἔχοντα ναῦς πέντε καὶ
 εἴκοσι δύο καὶ τριάκοντα ταῖς μεθ' ἑαυτῶν. ὁ
 μέντοι Γοργώπας ἀποπλέων ἐξ Ἐφέσου περι-
 τυγχάνει Εὐνόμῳ· καὶ τότε μὲν κατέφυγεν εἰς
 Αἶγιναν μικρὸν πρὸ ἡλίου δυσμῶν. ἐκβιβάσας
 8 δ' εὐθὺς ἐδείπνιζε τοὺς στρατιώτας. ὁ δ' Εὐνομος
 ὀλίγον χρόνον ὑπομείνας ἀπέπλει. νυκτὸς δ'
 ἐπιγενομένης, φῶς ἔχων, ὥσπερ νομίζεται, ἀφη-
 γεῖτο, ὅπως μὴ πλανῶνται αἱ ἐπόμεναι. ὁ δὲ
 Γοργώπας ἐμβιβάσας εὐθὺς ἐπηκολούθει κατὰ
 τὸν λαμπτήρα, ὑπολειπόμενος, ὅπως μὴ φανερὸς
 εἶη μηδ' αἰσθησιν παρέχοι, λίθων τε ψόφῳ τῶν
 κελευστῶν ἀντὶ φωνῆς χρωμένων καὶ παραγωγῇ
 9 τῶν κωπῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦσαν αἱ τοῦ Εὐνόμου πρὸς
 τῇ γῇ περὶ Ζωστήρα τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ἐκέλευε τῇ
 σάλπιγγι ἐπιπλεῖν. τῷ δὲ Εὐνόμῳ ἐξ ἐνίων μὲν
 τῶν νεῶν ἄρτι ἐξέβαινον, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἔτι¹ ὠρμίζοντο,
 οἱ δὲ καὶ ἔτι κατέπλεον. ναυμαχίας δὲ πρὸς τὴν
 σελήνην γενομένης, τέτταρας τριήρεις λαμβάνει

¹ καὶ ἔτι MSS.: Kel. brackets.

vice-admiral, in command of the rest. Thereupon 388 B.C.
 Nicolochus, seeking to aid the people of Abydus, proceeded to sail thither; he turned aside, however, to Tenedos and laid waste its territory, and having obtained money there, sailed on to Abydus. Then the generals of the Athenians gathered together from Samothrace, Thasos, and the places in that region, and set out to aid the people of Tenedos. But upon learning that Nicolochus had put in at Abydus they then, setting out from the Chersonese as a base, blockaded him and his twenty-five ships with the thirty-two ships under their command. As for Gorgopas, on his voyage back from Ephesus he fell in with Eunomus, and for the moment took refuge in Aegina, reaching there a little before sunset. Then he at once disembarked his men and gave them dinner. Meanwhile Eunomus, after waiting a short time, sailed off. And when night came on he led the way, carrying a light, as the custom is, so that the ships which were following him might not go astray. Then Gorgopas immediately embarked his men and followed on in the direction of the light, keeping behind the enemy so that he should not be visible or give them a chance to notice him; while his boatswains gave the time by clicking stones together instead of with their voices, and made the men employ a sliding motion of the oars. But when the ships of Eunomus were close to the shore near Cape Zoster in Attica, Gorgopas gave the order by the trumpet to sail against them. And as for Eunomus, the men on some of his ships were just disembarking, others were still occupied in coming to anchor, and others were even yet on their way toward the shore. Then, a battle being fought by moonlight, Gorgopas

ὁ Γοργώπας, καὶ ἀναδησάμενος ὥχετο ἄγων εἰς Αἴγιναν. αἱ δ' ἄλλαι νῆες αἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ κατέφυγον.

- 10 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Χαβρίας ἐξέπλει εἰς Κύπρον βοηθῶν Εὐαγόρα, πελταστὰς τ' ἔχων ὀκτακοσίους καὶ δέκα τριήρεις, προσλαβὼν δὲ καὶ Ἀθήνηθεν ἄλλας τε ναῦς καὶ ὀπλίτας· αὐτὸς δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς ἀποβὰς εἰς τὴν Αἴγιναν πορρωτέρω τοῦ Ἡρακλείου ἐν κοίλῳ χωρίῳ ἐνήδρευσεν, ἔχων τοὺς πελταστὰς. ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ὥσπερ ξυνέκειτο, ἦκου οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὀπλίται, Δημαινέτου αὐτῶν ἡγουμένου, καὶ ἀνέβαινον τοῦ Ἡρακλείου ἐπέκεινα ὡς ἐκαίδεκα σταδίου, ἔνθα ἡ Τριπυργία
- 11 καλεῖται. ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Γοργώπας, ἐβοήθει μετὰ τε τῶν Αἰγινητῶν καὶ σὺν τοῖς τῶν νεῶν ἐπιβάταις καὶ Σπαρτιατῶν οἱ ἔτυχον αὐτόθι παρόντες ὀκτώ. καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν πληρωμάτων δὲ τῶν ἐκ τῶν νεῶν ἐκήρυξε βοηθεῖν ὅσοι ἐλεύθεροι εἶεν· ὥστ' ἐβοήθουν καὶ τούτων πολλοί, ὃ τι
- 12 ἐδύνατο ἕκαστος ὄπλον ἔχων. ἐπεὶ δὲ παρήλλαξαν οἱ πρῶτοι τὴν ἐνέδραν, ἐξανίστανται οἱ περὶ τὸν Χαβρίαν, καὶ εὐθὺς ἠκόντιζον καὶ ἔβαλλον. ἐπῆσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῶν νεῶν ἀποβεβηκότες ὀπλίται. καὶ οἱ μὲν πρῶτοι, ἅτε οὐδενὸς ἀθρόου ὄντος, ταχὺ ἀπέθανον, ὧν ἦν Γοργώπας τε καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι· ἐπεὶ δὲ οὗτοι ἔπεσον, ἐτράπησαν δὴ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι. καὶ ἀπέθανον Αἰγινητῶν μὲν ὡς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν, ξένοι δὲ καὶ μέτοικοι καὶ ναῦται καταδεδραμηκότες οὐκ ἐλάτ

captured four triremes, and taking them in tow, 388 B.C. carried them off to Aegina; but the other ships of the Athenians made their escape to Piraeus.

After this Chabrias set out on a voyage to Cyprus to aid Euagoras, with eight hundred peltasts and ten triremes, to which force he had also added more ships and a body of hoplites obtained from Athens; and during the night he himself, with his peltasts, landed in Aegina and set an ambush in a hollow place beyond the Heracleium. Then at daybreak, just as had been agreed, the hoplites of the Athenians came, under the command of Demaenetus, and ascended to a point about sixteen stadia beyond the Heracleium, where the so-called Tripyrgia¹ is. On hearing of this Gorgopas sallied forth to the rescue with the Aeginetans, the marines from his ships, and eight Spartiatae who chanced to be there. He also made proclamation that all freemen among the crews of the ships should come with him, so that many of these also joined the relief force, each man with whatever weapon he could get. Now when those in the van had passed by the ambush, Chabrias and his followers rose up and immediately threw javelins and stones upon the enemy. And the hoplites who had disembarked from the ships also advanced upon them. Then those in the van, inasmuch as they were not a compact mass, were quickly killed, among whom were Gorgopas and the Lacedaemonians; and when these had fallen the rest also were put to flight. And there fell about one hundred and fifty Aeginetans and not less than two hundred foreigners, aliens resident in Aegina, and sailors who

¹ The reference is uncertain.

- 13 τους διακοσίων. ἐκ δὲ τούτου οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι, ὥσπερ ἐν εἰρήνῃ, ἔπλεον τὴν θάλατταν. οὐδὲ γὰρ τῷ Ἑτεονίκῳ ἤθελον οἱ ναῦται καίπερ ἀναγκάζοντι ἐμβάλλειν, ἐπεὶ μισθὸν οὐκ ἐδίδου.
- Ἐκ δὲ τούτου οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Τελευτίαν αὐ¹ ἐκπέμπουσιν ἐπὶ ταύτας τὰς ναῦς ναύαρχον. ὥς δὲ εἶδον αὐτὸν ἤκοντα οἱ ναῦται, ὑπερήσθησαν. ὁ δ' αὐτοὺς συγκαλέσας εἶπε τοιάδε·
- 14 ὦ ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, ἐγὼ χρήματα μὲν οὐκ ἔχων ἤκω· ἐὰν μέντοι θεὸς ἐθέλῃ καὶ ὑμεῖς συμπροθυμήσθε, πειράσομαι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ὑμῖν ὥς πλεῖστα πορίζειν. εὐ δ' ἴστε, ἐγὼ ὅταν ὑμῶν ἄρχω, εὐχομαί τε οὐδὲν ἡπτον ζῆν ὑμᾶς ἢ καὶ ἐμαυτόν, τά τ' ἐπιτήδεια θαυμάσαιτε μὲν ἂν ἴσως, εἰ φαίην βούλεσθαι ὑμᾶς μᾶλλον ἢ ἐμὲ ἔχειν· ἐγὼ δὲ νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς δεξαίμην ἂν αὐτὸς μᾶλλον δύο ἡμέρας ἄσιτος ἢ ὑμᾶς μίαν γενέσθαι· ἢ γε μὴν θύρα ἢ ἐμὴ ἀνέγκτο μὲν δήπου καὶ πρόσθεν εἰσιέναι τῷ δεομένῳ τι ἐμοῦ, ἀνεώξεται δὲ καὶ νῦν.
- 15 ὥστε ὅταν ὑμεῖς πλήρῃ ἔχητε τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, τότε καὶ ἐμὲ ὄψεσθε ἀφθονώτερον διαιτώμενον· ἂν δὲ ἀνεχόμενόν με ὀράτε καὶ ψύχη καὶ θάλπη καὶ ἀγρυπνίαν, οἴεσθε καὶ ὑμεῖς ταῦτα πάντα καρτερεῖν. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐγὼ τούτων κελεύω ὑμᾶς ποιεῖν ἵνα ἀνιᾶσθε, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἐκ τούτων ἀγαθὸν τι
- 16 λαμβάνητε. καὶ ἡ πόλις δέ τοι, ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, ἡ ἡμετέρα, ἡ δοκεῖ εὐδαίμων εἶναι, εὐ ἴστε ὅτι τὰγαθὰ καὶ τὰ καλὰ ἐκτήσατο οὐ

¹ After αὐ the MSS. read ἐπὶ ταύτῃ : Kel. brackets.

had hurriedly rushed ashore. After this the Athenians sailed the sea just as in time of peace, for the Lacedaemonian sailors refused to row for Eteonicus, even though he tried to compel them to do so, because he did not give them pay. 583 B.C.

After this the Lacedaemonians sent out Teleutias again to take command of these ships as admiral. And when the sailors saw that he had come, they were delighted beyond measure. And he called them together and spoke as follows: "Fellow soldiers, I have come without money; yet if God be willing and you perform your part zealously, I shall endeavour to supply you with provisions in the greatest abundance. And be well assured that, whenever I am in command of you, I pray just as earnestly for your lives as for my own. As to provisions, you would be surprised, perhaps, if I should say that I am more desirous of your being supplied than of being supplied myself; indeed, by the gods, I should prefer to go without food myself for two days than to have you go without for one. And just as my door was open in days past, as you know, for him to enter who had any request to make of me, so likewise it shall be open now. Therefore, when you have provisions in abundance, then you will see me also living bounteously; but if you see me submitting to cold and heat and night-watching, expect to endure all these things yourselves. For I do not bid you do any of these things that you may suffer discomfort, but that from them you may gain something good. And Sparta too," he added, "that Sparta of ours, fellow soldiers, which is accounted so prosperous—she, be well assured, won her prosperity and her

- ράθυμουσα, ἀλλὰ ἐθέλουσα καὶ πονεῖν καὶ κινδυνεύειν, ὁπότε δέοι. καὶ ὑμεῖς οὖν ἦτε μὲν καὶ πρότερον, ὡς ἐγὼ οἶδα, ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί· νῦν δὲ πειρᾶσθαι χρὴ ἔτι ἀμείνους γίγνεσθαι, ἵν' ἡδέως
- 17 μὲν ξυμπονῶμεν, ἡδέως δὲ ξυνευδαιμονῶμεν. τί γὰρ ἥδιον ἢ μηδένα ἀνθρώπων κολακεύειν μήτε Ἑλληνα μήτε βάρβαρον ἕνεκα μισθοῦ, ἀλλ' ἑαυτοῖς ἱκανοὺς εἶναι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πορίζεσθαι, καὶ ταῦτα ὅθενπερ κάλλιστον; ἢ γάρ τοι ἐν πολέμῳ ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀφθονία εὖ ἴστε ὅτι ἅμα τροφήν τε καὶ εὐκλειαν ἐν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις παρέχεται.
- 18 Ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' εἶπεν, οἱ δὲ πάντες ἀνεβόησαν παραγγέλλειν ὃ τι ἂν δέῃ, ὡς σφῶν ὑπηρετησόντων. ὁ δὲ τεθυμένος ἐτύγχανεν· εἶπε δέ· Ἄγετε, ὦ ἄνδρες, δειπνήσατε μὲν ἅπερ καὶ ὡς ἐμέλλετε προπαράσχεσθε δέ μοι¹ μιᾶς ἡμέρας σῖτον. ἔπειτα δὲ ἦκετε ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς αὐτίκα μάλα, ὅπως πλεύσωμεν ἔνθα θεὸς ἐθέλει, ἐν καιρῷ ἀφιζόμενοι.
- 19 ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἦλθον, ἐμβιβασάμενος αὐτοὺς εἰς τὰς ναῦς ἔπλει τῆς νυκτὸς εἰς τὸν λιμένα τῶν Ἀθηναίων, τοτὲ μὲν ἀναπαύων καὶ παραγγέλλων ἀποκοιμᾶσθαι, τοτὲ δὲ κώπαις προσκομιζόμενος. εἰ δέ τις ὑπολαμβάνει ὡς ἀφρόνως ἔπλει δώδεκα τριήρεις ἔχων ἐπὶ πολλὰς ναῦς κεκτημένους, ἐν-
- 20 νοησάτω τὸν ἀναλογισμὸν αὐτοῦ. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἐνόμισεν ἀμελέστερον μὲν ἔχειν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους περὶ τὸ ἐν τῷ λιμένι ναυτικὸν Γοργώπα ἀπολωλότος· εἰ δὲ καὶ εἶεν τριήρεις ὀρμούσαι, ἀσφαλέ-

¹ Kel., following Hartman, regards the text of the preceding line (ἅπερ . . . μοι) as corrupt.

glory, not by careless idling, but by being willing to undergo both toils and dangers whenever there was need. Now you in like manner were in former days, as I know, good men; but now you must strive to prove yourselves even better men, in order that, just as we gladly undergo toils together, so we may gladly enjoy good fortune together. For what greater gladness can there be than to have to flatter no one in the world, Greek or barbarian, for the sake of pay, but to be able to provide supplies for oneself, and what is more, from the most honourable source? For be well assured that abundance gained in war from the enemy yields not merely sustenance, but at the same time fair fame among all men."

Thus he spoke, and they all set up a shout, bidding him give whatever order was needful, in the assurance that they would obey. Now he chanced to have finished sacrificing, and he said: "Come, my men, get dinner, just as you were intending to do anyway; and provide yourselves, I beg you, with food for one day. Then come to the ships right speedily, that we may sail to the place where God wills that we go, and may arrive in good time." And when they had come he embarked them upon the ships and sailed during the night to the harbour of the Athenians, now letting the men rest and bidding them get a little sleep, and now setting them at the oars. But if anyone supposes that it was madness for him to sail with twelve triremes against men who possessed many ships, let such a one consider Teleutias' calculations. He conceived that the Athenians were more careless about their fleet in the harbour now that Gorgopas was dead; and even if there were triremes at anchor there,

- στερον ἡγήσατο ἐπ' εἴκοσι ναῦς Ἀθήνησιν οὔσας
 πλεῦσαι ἢ ἄλλοθι δέκα. τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἕξω ἦδει
 ὅτι κατὰ ναὺν ἔμελλον οἱ ναῦται σκηνήσειν, τῶν
 δὲ Ἀθήνησιν ἐγίγνωσκεν ὅτι οἱ μὲν τριήραρχοι
 οἴκοι καθευδήσοιεν, οἱ δὲ ναῦται ἄλλος ἄλλη σκη-
 21 νήσοιεν. ἔπλει μὲν δὴ ταῦτα διανοηθείς· ἐπειδὴ
 δὲ ἀπεῖχε πέντε ἢ ἕξ στάδια τοῦ λιμένος, ἡσυ-
 χίαν εἶχε καὶ ἀνέπαινε. ὥς δὲ ἡμέρα ὑπέφαινε,
 ἡγεῖτο· οἱ δὲ ἐπηκολούθουν. καὶ καταδύειν μὲν
 οὐδὲν εἶα στρογγύλον πλοῖον οὐδὲ λυμαίνεσθαι
 ταῖς ἑαυτῶν ναυσίν· εἰ δὲ που τριήρη ἴδοιεν ὀρ-
 μοῦσαν, ταύτην πειρᾶσθαι ἄπλουν ποιεῖν, τὰ δὲ
 φορτηγικὰ πλοῖα καὶ γέμοντα ἀναδουμένους ἄγειν
 ἕξω, ἐκ δὲ τῶν μειζόνων ἐμβαίνοντας ὅπου δύ-
 ναιτο τοὺς ἀνθρώπους λαμβάνειν. ἦσαν δέ τινες
 οἱ καὶ ἐκπηδήσαντες εἰς τὸ Δεῦγμα ἐμπόρους τέ-
 22 τινας καὶ ναυκλήρους συναρπάσαντες εἰς τὰς ναῦς
 εἰσήνεγκαν. ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐπεποιήκει. τῶν δὲ
 Ἀθηναίων οἱ μὲν αἰσθόμενοι ἔνδοθεν ἔθεον ἕξω,
 σκεψόμενοι τίς ἢ κραυγή, οἱ δὲ ἕξωθεν οἴκαδε ἐπὶ
 τὰ ὄπλα, οἱ δὲ καὶ εἰς ἄστυ ἀγγελοῦντες. πάντες
 δ' Ἀθηναῖοι τότε ἐβοήθησαν καὶ ὀπλῖται καὶ
 23 ἵππεῖς, ὥς τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἐαλωκότος. ὁ δὲ τὰ μὲν
 πλοῖα ἀπέστειλεν εἰς Αἴγιναν, καὶ τῶν τριήρων
 τρεῖς ἢ τέτταρας συναπαγαγεῖν ἐκέλευσε, ταῖς δὲ
 ἄλλαις παραπλέων παρὰ τὴν Ἀττικήν, ἅτε ἐκ
 τοῦ λιμένος πλέων, πολλὰ καὶ ἀλιευτικὰ ἔλαβε

¹ A quay where merchants displayed (cp. δεικνυμι) their
 wares.

he believed that it was safer to sail against twenty ships which were at Athens than against ten elsewhere. For in the case of ships that were abroad he knew that the sailors would be quartered on board their several ships, while with ships at Athens he was aware that the captains would be sleeping at home and the sailors quartered here and there. These, then, were the considerations which he had weighed before he sailed; and when he was distant from the harbour five or six stadia, he remained quiet and let his men rest. Then, as day was dawning, he led on and they followed. Now he forbade them to sink or harm any merchant vessel with their own ships; but if they saw a trireme at anchor anywhere, he ordered them to try to make her unseaworthy, and furthermore, to bring out in tow the merchant ships which were loaded, and to board the larger ones wherever they could and take off their people. Indeed, there were some of his men who even leaped ashore on to the *Deigma*,¹ seized merchants and owners of trading vessels, and carried them aboard the ships. He, then, succeeded in accomplishing these things. But as for the Athenians, some of them, upon hearing the uproar, ran from their houses into the streets to see what the shouting meant, others ran from the streets to their homes to get their weapons, and still others to the city to carry the news. Then all the Athenians, hoplites and horsemen, rushed to the rescue, thinking that Piraeus had been captured. But Teleutias sent off the captured merchant vessels to Aegina and gave orders that three or four of the triremes should convoy them thither, while with the rest of the triremes he coasted along the shore of Attica and, inasmuch as he was sailing out of the harbour, captured great numbers of fishing craft and ferry-

- καὶ πορθμεῖα ἀνθρώπων μεστά, καταπλέοντα ἀπὸ νήσων. ἐπὶ δὲ Σούνιον ἐλθὼν καὶ ὀλκάδας γεμούσας τὰς μὲν τινὰς σίτου, τὰς δὲ καὶ ἐμπολῆς, ἔλαβε. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας ἀπέπλευσεν
- 24 εἰς Αἶγιναν. καὶ ἀποδόμενος τὰ λάφυρα μηνὸς μισθὸν προέδωκε τοῖς στρατιώταις. καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν δὲ περιπλέον ἐλάμβανεν ὃ τι ἐδύνατο. καὶ ταῦτα ποιῶν πλήρεις τε τὰς ναῦς ἔτρεφε καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας εἶχεν ἡδέως καὶ ταχέως ὑπηρετοῦντας.
- 25 Ὁ δὲ Ἀνταλκίδας κατέβη μὲν μετὰ Τιριβάζου διαπεπραγμένος συμμαχεῖν βασιλέα, εἰ μὴ ἐθέλοιεν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι χρῆσθαι τῇ εἰρήνῃ ἣ αὐτὸς ἔλεγεν. ὥς δ' ἤκουσε Νικόλοχον σὺν ταῖς ναυσὶ πολιορκεῖσθαι ἐν Ἀβύδῳ ὑπὸ Ἰφικράτους καὶ Διοτίμου, πεζῇ ὥχετο εἰς Ἀβυδον. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ λαβὼν τὸ ναυτικὸν νυκτὸς ἀνήγετο, διασπείρας λόγον ὥς μεταπεμπομένων τῶν Καλχηδονίων· ὁρμισάμενος δὲ ἐν Περκώτῃ ἡσυχίαν εἶχεν.
- 26 αἰσθόμενοι δὲ οἱ περὶ Δημαίνετον καὶ Διονύσιον καὶ Λεόντιχον καὶ Φανίαν ἐδίωκον αὐτὸν τὴν ἐπὶ Προκοννήσου· ὁ δ', ἐπεὶ ἐκείνοι παρέπλευσαν, ὑποστρέψας εἰς Ἀβυδον ἀφίκετο· ἡκηκόει γὰρ ὅτι προσπλέοι Πολύξενος ἄγων τὰς ἀπὸ Συρακουσῶν καὶ Ἰταλίας ναῦς εἵκοσιν ὅπως ἀναλάβοι καὶ ταύτας. ἐκ δὲ τούτου Θρασύβουλος ὁ Κολλυτεὺς ἔχων ναῦς ὀκτὼ ἔπλει ἀπὸ Θράκης, βουλόμενος ταῖς ἄλλαις Ἀττικαῖς ναυσὶ συμ-

boats full of people as they were sailing in from the islands. And on coming to Sunium he captured trading vessels also, some of them full of corn, others of merchandise. Having done all these things he sailed back to Aegina, and when he had sold his booty he gave the soldiers a month's pay in advance. He likewise from that time forth cruised round and captured whatever he could. And by doing these things he maintained his ships with full complements of sailors, and kept his soldiers in a state of glad and prompt obedience. 388 B.C.

And now Antalcidas returned with Tiribazus from the Persian capital, having effected an agreement that the King should be an ally of the Lacedaemonians if the Athenians and their allies refused to accept the peace which he himself directed them to accept. But when Antalcidas heard that Nicolochus with his ships was being blockaded at Abydus by Iphicrates and Diotimus, he went overland to Abydus. And from there he set out during the night with the fleet, after spreading a report that the Calchedonians were sending for him; then he came to anchor at Percote and remained quiet there. Now the Athenian forces under Demaenetus, Dionysius, Leontichus, and Phantias, upon learning of his departure, followed after him in the direction of Proconnesus; and when they had sailed past him, Antalcidas turned about and came back to Abydus, for he had heard that Polyxenus was approaching with the ships from Syracuse and Italy, twenty in number, and he wished to join these also to his command. But soon after this Thrasybulus, of the deme Collytus, came sailing from Thrace with eight ships, desiring to unite with the other Athenian 387 B.C.

- 27 μείξαι. ο δὲ Ἀνταλκίδας, ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ οἱ σκοποὶ ἐσήμηναν ὅτι προσπλέοιεν τριήρεις ὀκτώ, ἐμβιβάσας τοὺς ναύτας εἰς δώδεκα ναῦς τὰς ἄριστα πλεούσας, καὶ προσπληρώσασθαι κελεύσας, εἴ τις ἐνεδεῖτο, ἐκ τῶν καταλειπομένων, ἐνήδρευεν ὥς ἐδύνατο ἀφανέστατα. ἐπεὶ δὲ παρέπλεον, ἐδίωκεν· οἱ δὲ ἰδόντες ἔφευγον. τὰς μὲν οὖν βραδύτατα πλεούσας ταῖς ἄριστα πλεούσαις ταχὺ κατειλήφει· παραγγείλας δὲ τοῖς πρωτόπλοις τῶν μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ μὴ ἐμβαλεῖν ταῖς ὑστάταις, ἐδίωκε τὰς προεχούσας. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταύτας ἔλαβεν, ἰδόντες οἱ ὕστεροι ἀλίσκομένους σφῶν αὐτῶν τοὺς πρόπλους ὑπ' ἀθυμίας καὶ πρὸς τῶν βραδυτέρων
- 28 ἡλίσκοντο· ὥσθ' ἤλωσαν ἅπασαι. ἐπεὶ δ' ἦλθον αὐτῷ αἷ τε ἐκ Συρακουσῶν νῆες εἴκοσιν, ἦλθον δὲ καὶ αἱ ἀπὸ Ἰωνίας, ὅσῃς ἐγκρατὴς ἦν Τιρίβαζος, συνεπληρώθησαν δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἀριοβαρζάνους, καὶ γὰρ ἦν ξένος ἐκ παλαιοῦ τῷ Ἀριοβαρζάνει, ὁ δὲ Φαρνάβαζος ἤδη ἀνακεκλημένος ὥχετο ἄνω, ὅτε δὴ καὶ ἔγημε τὴν βασιλέως θυγατέρα· ὁ δὲ Ἀνταλκίδας γενομέναις ταῖς πάσαις ναυσὶ πλείοσιν ἢ ὀγδοήκοντα ἐκράτει τῆς θαλάττης· ὥστε καὶ τὰς ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ναῦς Ἀθήναζε μὲν ἐκώλυε καταπλεῖν, εἰς δὲ τοὺς ἑαυτῶν συμμάχους κατή-
γεν.
- 29 οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι, ὀρώντες μὲν πολλὰς τὰς πολεμίας ναῦς, φοβούμενοι δὲ μὴ ὥς πρότερον καταπολεμηθεῖσαν, συμμάχου Λακεδαιμονίοις βασιλέως γεγεννημένου, πολιορκούμενοι δὲ ἐκ τῆς

ships. And Antalcidas, when his scouts signalled to him that eight triremes were approaching, embarked the sailors on twelve of his fastest ships, gave orders that if anyone was lacking men, he should fill up his crew from the ships left behind, and lay in wait with the utmost possible concealment. Then, as the enemy were sailing past him, he pursued; and they, upon seeing him, fled. Now he speedily succeeded in overhauling the slowest of the enemy's ships with his fastest; but giving orders to the leaders of his own fleet not to attack the hindmost ships, he continued the pursuit of those which were ahead. And when he had captured them, those who were behind, upon seeing that the leaders of their fleet were being taken, out of discouragement were themselves taken even by the slower ships of Antalcidas; and the result was that all the ships were captured. And after the twenty ships from Syracuse had come and joined Antalcidas, and the ships from all that part of Ionia of which Tiribazus was master had also come, and more still had been manned from the territory of Ariobarzanes—for Antalcidas was an old friend of Ariobarzanes, and Pharnabazus had at this time gone up to the capital in response to a summons, this being the occasion when he married the King's daughter—then Antalcidas, the whole number of his ships amounting to more than eighty, was master of the sea, so that he also prevented the ships from the Pontus from sailing to Athens, and compelled them to sail to the ports of his people's allies. The Athenians, therefore, seeing that the enemy's ships were many, fearing that they might be completely subdued, as they had been before, now that the King had become an ally of the Lacedaemonians, and

357 B.C.

- Αἰγίνης ὑπὸ τῶν ληστῶν, διὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἰσχυρῶς ἐπεθύμουν τῆς εἰρήνης. οἱ δ' αὖ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, φρουροῦντες μόρα μὲν ἐν Λεχαίῳ, μόρα δ' ἐν Ὀρχομενῷ, φυλάττοντες δὲ τὰς πόλεις, αἷς μὲν ἐπίστευον, μὴ ἀπόλοιτο, αἷς δὲ ἠπίστουν, μὴ ἀποσταῖεν, πράγματα δ' ἔχοντες καὶ παρέχοντες περὶ τὴν Κόρινθον, χαλεπῶς ἔφερον τῷ πολέμῳ. οἷ γε μὴν Ἀργεῖοι, εἰδότες φρουράν τε πεφασμένην ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς καὶ γιγνώσκοντες ὅτι ἡ τῶν μηνῶν ὑποφορὰ οὐδὲν ἔτι σφᾶς ὠφελήσει, καὶ
- 30 οὗτοι εἰς τὴν εἰρήνην πρόθυμοι ἦσαν. ὥστ' ἐπεὶ παρήγγειλεν ὁ Τιρίβαζος παρεῖναι τοὺς βουλομένους ὑπακοῦσαι ἣν βασιλεὺς εἰρήνην καταπέμποι, ταχέως πάντες παρεγένοντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνῆλθον, ἐπιδείξας ὁ Τιρίβαζος τὰ βασιλέως σημεῖα ἀνεγίγνωσκε τὰ γεγραμμένα. εἶχε δὲ ὧδε.
- 31 Ἀρταξέρξης βασιλεὺς νομίζει δίκαιον τὰς μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεις ἑαυτοῦ εἶναι καὶ τῶν νήσων Κλαζομενὰς καὶ Κύπρον, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις καὶ μικρὰς καὶ μεγάλας αὐτονόμους ἀφεῖναι πλὴν Λήμνου καὶ Ἰμβρου καὶ Σκύρου· ταύτας δὲ ὥσπερ τὸ ἀρχαῖον εἶναι Ἀθηναίων. ὁπότεροι δὲ ταύτην τὴν εἰρήνην μὴ δέχονται, τούτοις ἐγὼ πολεμήσω μετὰ τῶν ταῦτα¹ βουλομένων καὶ πεζῇ καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ χρήμασιν.
- 32 Ἀκούοντες οὖν ταῦτα οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων πρέσβεις, ἀπήγγελλον ἐπὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἑκάστοι

¹ ταῦτα MSS.: ταῦτὰ Kel.

being beset by the raiding parties from Aegina, for 537 B.C. these reasons were exceedingly desirous of peace. On the other hand the Lacedaemonians, what with maintaining a garrison of one regiment at Lechaëum and another at Orchomenus, keeping watch upon their allied states—those which they trusted, to prevent their being destroyed, and those which they distrusted, to prevent their revolting—and suffering and causing trouble around Corinth, were out of patience with the war. As for the Argives, knowing that the Lacedaemonian ban had been called out against them, and being aware that their plea of the sacred months¹ would no longer be of any help to them, they also were eager for peace. So that when Tiribazus ordered those to be present who desired to give ear to the peace which the King had sent down, all speedily presented themselves. And when they had come together, Tiribazus showed them the King's seal and then read the writing. It ran as follows:

“King Artaxerxes thinks it just that the cities in Asia should belong to him, as well as Clazomenae and Cyprus among the islands, and that the other Greek cities, both small and great, should be left independent, except Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros; and these should belong, as of old, to the Athenians. But whichever of the two parties does not accept this peace, upon them I will make war, in company with those who desire this arrangement, both by land and by sea, with ships and with money.”

Upon hearing these words the ambassadors from the various states reported them to their own several

¹ *cp.* IV. vii. 2 f. and note.

- πόλεις. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἅπαντες ὤμνυσαν ἐμ-
 πεδώσειν ταῦτα, οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ἠξίουσαν ὑπὲρ πάν-
 των Βοιωτῶν ὀμνύναι. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος οὐκ ἔφη
 δέξασθαι τοὺς ὄρκους, εἰ μὴ ὀμνύωσιν, ὥσπερ
 τὰ βασιλέως γράμματα ἔλεγεν, αὐτονόμους εἶναι
 καὶ μικρὰν καὶ μεγάλην πόλιν. οἱ δὲ τῶν Θη-
 βαίων πρέσβεις ἔλεγον ὅτι οὐκ ἐπεσταλμένα
 σφίσι ταῦτ' εἶη. Ἴτε νυν, ἔφη ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, καὶ
 ἐρωτᾶτε· ἀπαγγέλλετε δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ταῦτα, ὅτι εἰ
 μὴ ποιήσουσι ταῦτα, ἔκσπονδοι ἔσονται. οἱ μὲν
 33 δὴ ὄχοντο. ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος διὰ τὴν πρὸς Θη-
 βαίους ἔχθραν οὐκ ἔμελλεν, ἀλλὰ πείσας τοὺς
 ἐφόρους εὐθύς ἐθύετο. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐγένετο τὰ δια-
 βατήρια, ἀφικόμενος εἰς τὴν Τεγέαν διέπεμπε τῶν
 μὲν ἱππέων κατὰ τοὺς περιοίκους ἐπισπεύσοντας,
 διέπεμπε δὲ καὶ ξεναγούς εἰς τὰς πόλεις. πρὶν δὲ
 αὐτὸν ὀρμηθῆναι ἐκ Τεγέας, παρήσαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι
 λέγοντες ὅτι ἀφιαῖσι τὰς πόλεις αὐτονόμους. καὶ
 οὕτω Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν οἴκαδε ἀπῆλθον, Θηβαῖοι
 δ' εἰς τὰς σπονδὰς εἰσελθεῖν ἠναγκάσθησαν, αὐ-
 34 τονόμους ἀφέντες τὰς Βοιωτίας πόλεις. οἱ δ' αὖ
 Κορίνθιοι οὐκ ἐξέπεμπον τὴν τῶν Ἀργείων φρου-
 ράν. ἀλλ' ὁ Ἀγησίλαος καὶ τούτοις προεῖπε,
 τοῖς μὲν, εἰ μὴ ἐκπέμψοιεν τοὺς Ἀργεῖους, τοῖς
 δέ, εἰ μὴ ἀπίοιεν ἐκ τῆς Κορίνθου, ὅτι πόλεμον
 ἐξοίσει πρὸς αὐτούς. ἐπεὶ δὲ φοβηθέντων ἀμφο-
 τέρων ἐξῆλθον οἱ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ αὐτὴ ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς ἦ

¹ Lacedaemonian officers who assembled and commanded the contingents of the allies.

states. And all the others swore that they would 387 B.C.
steadfastly observe these provisions, but the Thebans
claimed the right to take the oath in the name of
all the Boeotians. Agesilaus, however, refused to
accept their oaths unless they swore, just as the
King's writing directed, that every city, whether
small or great, should be independent. But the
ambassadors of the Thebans said that these were
not the instructions which had been given them.
"Go then," said Agesilaus, "and ask your people;
and report to them this also, that if they do not so
act, they will be shut out from the treaty." The
Theban ambassadors accordingly departed. Agesi-
laus, however, on account of his hatred for the
Thebans, did not delay, but after winning over the
ephors proceeded at once to perform his sacrifices.
And when the offering at the frontier proved favour-
able, upon his arrival at Tegea he sent horsemen
hither and thither among the Perioeci to hasten
their coming, and likewise sent mustering officers¹ to
the various cities of the allies. But before he had
set out from Tegea, the Thebans arrived with word
that they would leave the cities independent. And
so the Lacedaemonians returned home and the
Thebans were forced to accede to the treaty, allow-
ing the Boeotian cities to be independent. But the
Corinthians, on the other hand, would not dismiss
the garrison maintained in their city by the Argives.
Agesilaus, however, made proclamation to these
peoples also, saying to the Corinthians that if they
did not dismiss the Argives, and to the Argives
that if they did not depart from Corinth, he would
make war upon them. And when, as a result of the
fear which seized both peoples, the Argives departed

τῶν Κορινθίων πόλις ἐγένετο, οἱ μὲν σφαγεῖς καὶ οἱ μεταίτιοι τοῦ ἔργου αὐτοὶ γνόντες ἀπῆλθον ἐκ τῆς Κορίνθου· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι πολῖται ἐκόντες¹ κατεδέχοντο τοὺς πρόσθεν φεύγοντας.

- 35 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐπράχθη καὶ ὤμωμόκεσαν αἱ πόλεις ἐμμενεῖν τῇ² εἰρήνῃ ἣν κατέπεμψε βασιλεύς, ἐκ τούτου διελύθη μὲν τὰ πεζικά, διελύθη δὲ καὶ τὰ ναυτικὰ στρατεύματα. Λακεδαιμονίοις μὲν δὴ καὶ Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις οὕτω μετὰ τὸν ὕστερον πόλεμον τῆς καθαιρέσεως τῶν Ἀθήνησι τειχῶν αὕτη πρώτη
36 τῇ εἰρήνῃ ἐγένετο. ἐν δὲ τῷ πολέμῳ μᾶλλον ἀντιρρόπως τοῖς ἐναντίοις πράττοντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πολὺ ἐπικυδέστεροι ἐγένοντο ἐκ τῆς ἐπ' Ἀνταλκίδου εἰρήνης καλουμένης. προστάται γὰρ γενόμενοι τῆς ὑπὸ βασιλέως καταπεμφθείσης εἰρήνης καὶ τὴν αὐτονομίαν ταῖς πόλεσι πράττοντες, προσέλαβον μὲν σύμμαχον Κόρινθον, αὐτόνομους δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν Θηβαίων τὰς Βοιωτίδας πόλεις ἐποίησαν, οὐπερ πάλαι ἐπεθύμουν, ἔπαυσαν δὲ καὶ Ἀργεῖους Κόρινθον σφετεριζομένους, φρουρὰν φήναντες ἐπ' αὐτούς, εἰ μὴ ἐξίοιεν ἐκ Κορίνθου.

II. Τούτων δὲ προκεχωρηκότων ὥς ἐβούλουντο, ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς, ὅσοι ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῶν συμμάχων ἐπέκειντο καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις εὐμενέστεροι ἦσαν ἢ τῇ Λακεδαίμονι, τούτους κολάσαι καὶ κατα-

¹ ἐκόντες MSS.: ἄκοντες Kel.

² τῇ MSS. except B: ἐν τῇ Kel. with B.

and the state of the Corinthians regained its self-government, the authors of the massacre¹ and those who shared the responsibility for the deed withdrew of their own accord from Corinth, while the rest of the citizens willingly received back the former exiles. 887 B.C.

When these things had been accomplished and the states had sworn that they would abide by the treaty which the King had proposed, thereupon the armies were disbanded and the naval armaments were likewise disbanded. Thus it was that this peace was established between the Lacedaemonians and Athenians and their allies, the first since the outbreak of the war which followed the destruction of the walls of Athens. Now while in the war the Lacedaemonians were no more than holding their own with their antagonists, yet as a result of the so-called Peace of Antalcidas they gained a far more distinguished position. For by having become champions of the treaty proposed by the King and by establishing the independence of the cities they gained an additional ally in Corinth, made the Boeotian cities independent of the Thebans, a thing which they had long desired, and also put a stop to the doings of the Argives in appropriating Corinth as their own, by threatening to call out the ban against them if they did not depart from Corinth.

II. Since in all this matters had proceeded as they desired, the Lacedaemonians resolved, in the case of all among their allies who had been hostile during the war and more favourably inclined toward the enemy than toward Lacedaemon, to chastise them and put them in such a situation that they 886 B.C.

¹ cp. IV. iv. 2.

- σκευάσαι ὥς μὴ δύναιτο ἀπιστεῖν. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν πέμψαντες πρὸς τοὺς Μαντινέας ἐκέλευσαν αὐτοὺς τὸ τεῖχος περιαιρεῖν, λέγοντες ὅτι οὐκ ἂν πιστεύσειαν ἄλλως αὐτοῖς μὴ σὺν τοῖς πολεμίοις
- 2 γενέσθαι. αἰσθάνεσθαι γὰρ ἔφασαν καὶ ὥς σῖτον ἐξέπεμπον τοῖς Ἀργείοις σφῶν αὐτοῖς πολεμοῦντων, καὶ ὥς ἔστι μὲν ὅτε οὐδὲ συστρατεύοιεν ἐκεχειρίαν προφασιζόμενοι, ὁπότε δὲ καὶ ἀκολουθοῖεν, ὥς κακῶς συστρατεύοιεν. ἔτι δὲ γιγνώσκειν ἔφασαν φθονοῦντας μὲν αὐτούς, εἴ τι σφίσιν ἀγαθὸν γίγνοιτο, ἐφηδομένους δ', εἴ τις συμφορὰ προσπίπτοι. ἐλέγοντο δὲ καὶ αἱ σπονδαὶ ἐξεληλυθέναι τοῖς Μαντινεῦσι τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει αἱ μετὰ τὴν ἐν Μαντινείᾳ μάχην τριακονταετείς γενόμεναι.
- 3 ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ ἤθελον καθαιρεῖν τὰ τεῖχη, φρουρὰν φαίνουσιν ἐπ' αὐτούς.

Ἀγησίλαος μὲν οὖν ἐδεήθη τῆς πόλεως ἀφεῖναι ἑαυτὸν ταύτης τῆς στρατηγίας, λέγων ὅτι τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ ἢ τῶν Μαντινέων πόλις πολλὰ ὑπηρετήκοι ἐν τοῖς πρὸς Μεσσήνην πολέμοις. Ἀγησίπολις δὲ ἐξήγαγε τὴν φρουρὰν καὶ μάλα Πausανίου τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ φιλικῶς ἔχοντος πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Μαντινείᾳ τοῦ δήμου προστάτας.

1 ὥς δὲ ἐνέβαλε, πρῶτον μὲν τὴν γῆν ἐδήου. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδ' οὕτω καθήρουν τὰ τεῖχη, τάφρον ὠρυττε κύκλῳ περὶ τὴν πόλιν, τοῖς μὲν ἡμίσεσι τῶν στρατιωτῶν προκαθημένοις σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις τῶν ταφρευόντων, τοῖς δ' ἡμίσεσιν

could not be disloyal. Firstly, therefore, they sent 336 B.C. to the Mantineans and ordered them to tear down their wall, saying that they could not trust them in any other way not to take sides with their enemies. For they said they had noted not only that the Mantineans had been sending corn to the Argives when they themselves were making war upon that people, but also that sometimes, on the pretext of a holy truce, they had not served in the Lacedaemonian armies at all, and when they had fallen into line, had served badly. Furthermore, the Lacedaemonians said they were aware that they were envious if any good fortune came to them, and delighted if any disaster befel them.¹ It was also common talk that the thirty years' truce, concluded after the battle of Mantinea,² had expired this year, so far as the Mantineans were concerned. When, accordingly, they now refused to tear down their walls, the Lacedaemonians called out the ban against them.

Now Agesilaus requested the state to relieve him of the command of this expedition, saying that the city of the Mantineans had rendered his father many services in the wars against Mesene; Agesipolis, therefore, led forth the ban, even 335 B.C. though his father, Pausanias,³ was on exceedingly friendly terms with the leaders of the popular party in Mantinea. And when he had entered Mantinean territory, he first laid waste the land; but since even then they would not tear down the walls, he proceeded to dig a trench round about the city, with one half of the soldiers sitting under arms in front of the diggers to protect them, and the other half

¹ *cp.* IV. v. 18.

² In 418 B.C.

³ Who was still living, though deposed and in exile. *cp.* III. v. 25.

ἐργαζομένοις. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐξείργαστο ἡ τάφρος, ἀσφαλῶς ἤδη κύκλῳ τεῖχος περὶ τὴν πόλιν ὠκοδόμησεν. αἰσθόμενος δὲ ὅτι ὁ σῖτος ἐν τῇ πόλει πολὺς ἐνείη, εὐετηρίας γενομένης τῷ πρόσθεν ἔτει, καὶ νομίσας χαλεπὸν ἔσεσθαι, εἰ δεήσει πολὺν χρόνον τρύχειν στρατείαις τὴν τε πόλιν καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους, ἀπέχωσε τὸν ῥέοντα ποταμὸν διὰ τῆς πόλεως μάλ' ὄντα εὐμεγέθη.

5· ἐμφραχθείσης δὲ τῆς ἀπορροίας ἤρετο τὸ ὕδωρ ὑπὲρ τε τῶν ὑπὸ ταῖς οἰκίαις καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὑπὸ τῷ τείχει θεμελίων. βρεχομένων δὲ τῶν κάτω πλίνθων καὶ προδιδουσῶν τὰς ἄνω, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐρρήγνυτο τὸ τεῖχος, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἐκλίνετο. οἱ δὲ χρόνον μὲν τινα ξύλα ἀντήρειδον καὶ ἐμνηχανῶντο ὥς μὴ πίπτοι ὁ πύργος· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡττῶντο τοῦ ὕδατος, δέισαντες μὴ πεσόντος πῃ τοῦ κύκλου τείχους δοριάλωτοι γένοιντο, ὠμολόγουν περιαιρήσειν. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐκ ἔφασαν σπείσεσθαι, εἰ μὴ καὶ διοικιοῖντο κατὰ κώμας. οἱ δ' αὖ νομίσαντες ἀνάγκην εἶναι, συνέφασαν καὶ

6 ταῦτα ποιήσειν. οἰομένων δὲ ἀποθανεῖσθαι τῶν ἀργολιζόντων καὶ τῶν τοῦ δήμου προστατῶν, διεπράξατο ὁ πατὴρ παρὰ τοῦ Ἀγησιπόλιδος ἀσφάλειαν αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι ἀπαλλαττομένοις ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, ἐξήκοντα οὔσι. καὶ ἀμφοτέρωθεν μὲν τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἔχοντες τὰ δόρατα οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἕστασαν, θεώμενοι τοὺς ἐξιόντας. καὶ μισοῦντες αὐτοὺς ὁμῶς ἀπεί-

working. And after the trench had been completed, 335 a.c. he then without risk built a wall round about the city. Learning, however, that the corn supply in the city was abundant, since there had been a good harvest the previous year, and thinking that it would be a grievous thing if it should prove necessary to burden both his state and its allies for a long period with campaigns, he dammed up the river which flowed through the city; and it was a very large one. Its outflow being thus checked, the water rose not only above the foundations of the houses but above those of the city wall. Then as the lower bricks became soaked and failed to support those above them, the wall began first to crack and then to give way. And the Mantineans for a time tried to prop it up with timbers, and sought contrivances to prevent the tower from falling; but when they were no longer able to resist the water, being seized with the fear that if any portion of the encircling wall fell they would become prisoners of war, they offered to agree to tear down their walls. The Lacedaemonians, however, said that they would not make peace with them except on condition that they should also dwell apart in villages. And they for their part, coming to the conclusion that it was necessary, agreed that they would do this also. Now the partisans of Argos and the leaders of the popular party expected that they would be put to death, but the father of Agesipolis obtained from him the promise that safety should be granted them as they departed from the city, being sixty in number. So on both sides of the road, beginning at the city gates, stood the Lacedaemonians with their spears, watching those who were coming out. And

- χοντο αὐτῶν ῥᾶον ἢ οἱ βέλτιστοι τῶν Μαντινέων.
καὶ τοῦτο μὲν εἰρήσθω μέγα τεκμήριον πειθαρχίας.
- 7 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου καθηρέθη μὲν τὸ τεῖχος, διωκίσθη
δ' ἡ Μαντίνεια τετραχῇ, καθάπερ τὸ ἀρχαῖον
ᾤκουν. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἤχθοντο, ὅτι τὰς μὲν
ὑπαρχούσας οἰκίας ἔδει καθαιρεῖν, ἄλλας δὲ
οἰκοδομεῖν· ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ ἔχοντες τὰς οὐσίας ἐγγύ-
τερον μὲν ᾤκουν τῶν χωρίων ὄντων αὐτοῖς περὶ
τὰς κώμας, ἀριστοκρατία δ' ἐχρῶντο, ἀπηλλα-
γμένοι δ' ἦσαν τῶν βαρέων δημαγωγῶν, ἤδοντο
τοῖς πεπραγμένοις. καὶ ἔπεμπον μὲν αὐτοῖς οἱ
Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐ καθ' ἓν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ κώμην
ἐκάστην ξυναγόν. συνεστρατεύοντο δ' ἐκ τῶν
κωμῶν πολὺ προθυμότερον ἢ ὅτε ἐδημοκρατοῦντο.
καὶ τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ Μαντινείας οὕτω διεπέπρακτο,
σοφωτέρων γενομένων ταύτῃ γε τῶν ἀνθρώπων
τὸ μὴ διὰ τειχῶν ποταμὸν ποιεῖσθαι.
- 8 Οἱ δ' ἐκ Φλειοῦντος φεύγοντες αἰσθανόμενοι
τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπισκοποῦντας τῶν συμ-
μάχων ὁποῖοί τινες ἕκαστοι ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ αὐτοῖς
ἐγεγέννητο, καιρὸν ἡγησάμενοι, ἐπορεύθησαν εἰς
Λακεδαίμονα καὶ ἐδίδασκον ὥς ἕως μὲν σφεῖς
οἴκοι ἦσαν, ἐδέχετό τε ἡ πόλις τοὺς Λακεδαι-
μονίους εἰς τὸ τεῖχος καὶ συνεστρατεύοντο ὅποι
ἡγοῖντο· ἐπεὶ δὲ σφᾶς¹ ἐξέβαλον, ὥς ἔπε-
σθαι μὲν οὐδαμοῦ ἐθέλοιεν, μόνους δὲ πάντων

¹ After σφᾶς the MSS. have αὐτοὶ (or αὐτοὺς): Kel. brackets, following Bisschop.

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although they hated them, nevertheless they kept 385 B.C.
their hands off them more easily than did the Mantineans belonging to the aristocratic party. Let this, then, stand recorded as a striking example of good discipline.

After this the wall was torn down and Mantinea was divided into four separate villages, just as the people had dwelt in ancient times. And at first they were displeased, because they were compelled to tear down the houses which they had and to build others; but the owners of the landed property, since they not only dwelt nearer to their estates, which were round about the villages, but also enjoyed an aristocratic government and were rid of the troublesome demagogues, were pleased with what had been done. And the Lacedaemonians sent mustering officers to them, not singly, but one for each village. Moreover, they came from their villages for service in the Lacedaemonian army far more zealously than when they were under a democratic government. Thus ended the affair of the Mantineans, whereby men were made wiser in this point at least—not to let a river run through city walls.

And now the exiles from Phlius, as they observed 384 B.C.
that the Lacedaemonians were investigating to see what sort of friends their several allies had proved to be to them during the war, thinking that it was an opportune time, proceeded to Lacedaemon and set forth that so long as they were at home in Phlius, the city had received the Lacedaemonians within its walls, and its people had gone with them on their campaigns wherever they led the way; but that after the Phliasians had driven them into exile, they had declined to follow anywhere, and had refused to

- ἀνθρώπων Λακεδαιμονίους οὐ δέχονται εἴσω τῶν
 9 πυλῶν. ἀκούσασιν οὖν ταῦτα τοῖς ἐφόροις ἄξιον
 ἔδοξεν ἐπιστροφῆς εἶναι. καὶ πέμψαντες πρὸς
 τὴν τῶν Φλειασίων πόλιν ἔλεγον ὥς φίλοι μὲν
 οἱ φυγάδες τῇ Λακεδαιμονίων πόλει εἶεν, ἀδι-
 κοῦντες δ' οὐδὲν φεύγοιεν. ἄξιον δ' ἔφασαν μὴ
 ὑπ' ἀνάγκης, ἀλλὰ παρ' ἐκόντων διαπράξασθαι
 κατελθεῖν αὐτούς. ἃ δὲ ἀκούσαντες οἱ Φλειάσιοι
 ἔδεισαν μὴ εἰ στρατεύσαιντο ἐπ' αὐτούς, τῶν
 ἔνδοθεν παρείησάν τινες αὐτούς εἰς τὴν πόλιν.
 καὶ γὰρ συγγενεῖς πολλοὶ ἔνδον ἦσαν τῶν φευ-
 γόντων καὶ ἄλλως εὐμενεῖς, καὶ οἷα δὲ ἐν ταῖς
 πλείσταις πόλεσι νεωτέρων τινὲς ἐπιθυμοῦντες
 10 πραγμάτων κατὰγειν ἐβούλοντο τὴν φυγὴν. τοι-
 αῦτα μὲν δὴ φοβηθέντες, ἐψηφίσαντο καταδέχε-
 σθαι τοὺς φυγάδας, καὶ ἐκείνοις μὲν ἀποδοῦναι
 τὰ ἐμφανῆ κτήματα, τοὺς δὲ τὰ ἐκείνων πρια-
 μένους ἐκ δημοσίου τὴν τιμὴν ἀπολαβεῖν· εἰ δὲ
 τι ἀμφίλογον πρὸς ἀλλήλους γίγνοιτο, δίκη δια-
 κριθῆναι. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν αὐτὸν περὶ τῶν Φλειασίων
 φυγάδων ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐπέπρακτο.
 11 Ἐξ Ἀκάνθου δὲ καὶ Ἀπολλωνίας, αἵπερ μέγι-
 σται τῶν περὶ Ὀλυνθον πόλεων, πρέσβεις ἀφί-
 κοντο εἰς Λακεδαίμονα. ἀκούσαντες δ' οἱ ἐφοροι
 ὧν ἕνεκα ἦγον, προσήγαγον αὐτοὺς πρὸς τε τὴν
 12 ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους. ἔνθα δὲ Κλει-
 γένης Ἀκάνθιος ἔλεξεν· ὦ ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι
 τε καὶ σύμμαχοι, οἴομεθα λανθάνειν ὑμᾶς πρᾶγμα

receive the Lacedaemonians—and them alone of all men—within their gates. When the ephors heard these things, they decided that the matter deserved attention. Accordingly they sent to the city of the Phliasians and said that the exiles were friends of the Lacedaemonian state and had been exiled for no wrong-doing. They said further that they deemed it proper to effect their return from banishment, not by compulsion, but by voluntary consent of the Phliasians. Upon hearing this the Phliasians conceived the fear that if the Lacedaemonians made an expedition against them, some of the people within the walls would let them into the city. For not only were there many kinsmen of the exiles in the city, and people who were friendly to them for other reasons, but also, as is indeed usual in most cities, some desired a change of government and therefore wanted to bring back the exiles. On account, then, of such fears, the Phliasians voted to take back the exiles and to restore to them their undisputed property, those who had purchased such property to recover the price of it from the public treasury; and if any dispute should arise in any case between these purchasers and the exiles, it was to be settled by legal process. Thus ended, in its turn, this incident of the Phliasian exiles at that time.

Then there came ambassadors to Lacedaemon from Acanthus and Apollonia, which are the largest of the cities in the neighbourhood of Olynthus. And when the ephors heard with what object they had come, they brought them before the Lacedaemonian assembly and the allies. Thereupon Cleigenes of Acanthus spoke as follows: "Men of Lacedaemon and of the allied states, we think you are unaware that

- μέγα φυτόμενον ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἐπὶ Θράκης μεγίστη πόλις Ὀλυνθος σχεδὸν πάντες ἐπίστασθε. οὗτοι τῶν πόλεων προσηγάγοντο ἐφ' ὧτε νόμοις τοῖς αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι καὶ συμπολιτεύειν, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τῶν μειζόνων προσέλαβόν τινας. ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐπεχείρησαν καὶ τὰς τῆς Μακεδονίας πόλεις ἐλευθεροῦν ἀπὸ Ἀμύντου τοῦ
- 13 Μακεδόνων βασιλέως. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰσήκουσαν αἱ ἐγγύτατα αὐτῶν, ταχὺ καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς πόρρω καὶ μείζους ἐπορεύοντο· καὶ κατελίπομεν ἡμεῖς ἔχοντας ἤδη ἄλλας τε πολλὰς καὶ Πέλλαν, ἥπερ μεγίστη τῶν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ πόλεων· καὶ Ἀμύνταν δὲ ἡσθανόμεθα ἀποχωροῦντά τε ἐκ τῶν πόλεων καὶ ὅσον οὐκ ἐκπεπτωκότα ἤδη ἐκ πάσης Μακεδονίας. πέμψαντες δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ πρὸς Ἀπολλωνιάτας οἱ Ὀλύνθιοι προεῖπον ἡμῖν ὅτι εἰ μὴ παρεσόμεθα συστρατευσόμενοι, ἐκείνοι ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἴοιεν.
- 14 Ἡμεῖς δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, βουλόμεθα μὲν τοῖς πατρίοις νόμοις χρῆσθαι καὶ αὐτοπολῖται εἶναι· εἰ μέντοι μὴ βοηθήσει τις, ἀνάγκη καὶ ἡμῖν μετ' ἐκείνων γίγνεσθαι. καίτοι νῦν γ' ἤδη αὐτοῖς εἰσὶν ὀπλῖται μὲν οὐκ ἐλάττους ὀκτακοσίων,¹ πελτασταὶ δὲ πολὺ πλείους ἢ τοσοῦτοι· ἱππεῖς γε μέντοι, εἰ καὶ ἡμεῖς μετ' αὐτῶν
- 15 γενώμεθα, ἔσονται πλείους ἢ χίλιοι. κατελίπομεν δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Βοιωτῶν πρέσβεις ἤδη αὐτόθι. ἡκούομεν δὲ ὥς καὶ αὐτοῖς Ὀλυνθίοις ἐψηφισμένον εἶη συμπέμπειν πρέσβεις εἰς ταύτας

¹ ὀκτακοσίων: Kel. marks this word as corrupt. The number seems far too small.

a great danger is springing up in Greece. To be sure, 383 a.c
 almost all of you know that Olynthus is the largest
 of the cities on the coast of Thrace. These Olyn-
 thians, in the first place, attached to themselves some
 of the cities with the provision that all should live
 under the same laws and be fellow-citizens, and then
 they took over some of the larger cities also. After
 this they undertook, further, to free the cities of
 Macedonia from Amyntas, king of the Macedonians.
 And when the nearest of them gave their allegi-
 ance, they speedily proceeded against those which
 were farther away and larger; and we left them al-
 ready in possession of a great number of Macedonian
 cities, including especially Pella, which is the largest
 of the cities in Macedonia. We also had information
 that Amyntas was withdrawing from his cities and
 had already been all but driven out of all Macedonia.
 The Olynthians, furthermore, sent to us and to the
 Apollonians and announced to us that if we did not
 present ourselves to join them in their campaigns,
 they would come against us.

“As for ourselves, however, men of Lacedaemon,
 we desire to live under the laws of our fathers and
 to be citizens of our own city; but unless some one
 shall come to our aid, it will be necessary for us
 also to be united with them. And yet at this moment
 they already have not less than eight hundred hop-
 lites and far more than that number of peltasts;
 while as for horsemen, if we also become united with
 them, they will have more than one thousand. Again,
 we left ambassadors both of the Athenians and of
 the Boeotians already there. And we heard reports
 that the Olynthians on their side had voted to send
 ambassadors with them to these states in regard to

- τὰς πόλεις περὶ συμμαχίας. καίτοι εἰ τοσαύτη δύναμις προσγενήσεται τῇ τε Ἀθηναίων καὶ Θηβαίων ἰσχύι, ὁρᾶτε, ἔφη, ὅπως μὴ οὐκέτι εὐμεταχείριστα ἔσται ἐκεῖνα ὑμῖν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ Ποτεΐδαιαν ἔχουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ ἰσθμῷ τῆς Παλλήνης οὖσαν, νομίζετε καὶ τὰς ἐντὸς ταύτης πόλεις ὑπηκόους ἔσεσθαι αὐτῶν. τεκμήριον δ' ἔτι ἔστω ὑμῖν καὶ τοῦτο ὅτι ἰσχυρῶς αὐταὶ αἱ πόλεις πεφόβηται· μάλιστα γὰρ μισοῦσαι τοὺς Ὀλυνθίους ὁμῶς οὐκ ἐτόλμησαν μεθ' ἡμῶν πρεσβείας πέμπειν
- 16 διδασκούσας ταῦτα. ἐννοήσατε δὲ καὶ τόδε, πῶς εἰκὸς ὑμᾶς τῆς μὲν Βοιωτίας ἐπιμεληθῆναι ὅπως μὴ καθ' ἓν εἴη, πολὺ δὲ μείζονος ἀθροισμένης δυνάμεως ἀμελῆσαι, καὶ ταύτης οὐ κατὰ γῆν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ θύλατταν ἰσχυρᾶς γιγνομένης. τί γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐμποδῶν, ὅπου ξύλα μὲν ναυπηγήσιμα ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ χώρᾳ ἐστί, χρημάτων δὲ πρόσοδοι ἐκ πολλῶν μὲν λιμένων, ἐκ πολλῶν δ' ἐμπορίων, πολυανθρωπία γε μὴν διὰ τὴν πολυ-
- 17 σιτίαν ὑπάρχει; ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ γείτονές γ' εἰσὶν αὐτοῖς Θηῶνες οἱ ἀβασίλευτοι, οἱ θεραπεύουσι μὲν καὶ νῦν ἤδη τοὺς Ὀλυνθίους· εἰ δὲ ὑπ' ἐκείνους¹ ἔσονται, πολλὴ καὶ αὕτη δύναμις προσγένοιτ' ἂν αὐτοῖς. τούτων γε μὴν ἀκολουθούντων καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ Παγγαίῳ χρύσεια χεῖρα ἂν αὐτοῖς ἤδη ὀρέγοι. καὶ τούτων ἡμεῖς οὐδὲν λέγομεν ὃ τι οὐ καὶ ἐν τῷ τῶν Ὀλυνθίων δήμῳ μυριόλεκτόν ἐστι.
- 18 τό γε μὴν φρόνημα αὐτῶν τί ἂν τις λέγοι; καὶ

¹ ἐκείνους MSS.: ἐκείνοις Kel.

the matter of an alliance. Now if so great a power 888 B.C. is to be added to the present strength of the Athenians and Thebans, take care," he said, "lest you find that situation no longer easy to handle. Furthermore, since the Olynthians are in possession of Potidaea, which is on the isthmus of Pallene, be sure that the cities included within Pallene will also be subject to them. And let this fact also be a further evidence to you that these cities have come to fear the Olynthians mightily—that although they feel the utmost hatred toward the Olynthians, nevertheless they did not dare to send ambassadors with us to set forth these things. You should consider this question also, how you can consistently, after having taken care in the case of Boeotia to prevent its being united, nevertheless disregard the gathering of a much greater power, and what is more, a power which is becoming strong not by land only, but also by sea. For what indeed is there to hinder such expansion, seeing that the country itself possesses ship-timber and has revenues from many ports and many trading-places, and likewise an abundant population on account of the abundance of food? And further, mark you, they have for neighbours those Thracians who are under no king. They even now are paying court to the Olynthians; and if they should come under their sway, this also would be a great power added to the Olynthians. Then, if the Thracians were their followers, straightway the gold mines of Mount Pangaeum also would beckon to them. And there is not one of these things which we say which is not also said thousands of times among the people of Olynthus. As for their pride, how could one describe it? For the

γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ἴσως ἐποίησεν ἅμα τῷ δύνασθαι καὶ τὰ φρονήματα αὔξεσθαι τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

Ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν, ὦ ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι τε καὶ σύμμαχοι, ἐξαγγέλλομεν ὅτι οὕτω τὰ κεῖ ἔχει· ὑμεῖς δὲ βουλευέσθε, εἰ δοκεῖ ἄξια ἐπιμελείας εἶναι. δεῖ γε μὴν ὑμᾶς καὶ τόδε εἰδέναι, ὥς ἦν εἰρήκαμεν δύναμιν μεγάλην οὔσαν, οὕπω δυσπάλαιστός ἐστιν. αἱ γὰρ ἄκουσαι τῶν πόλεων τῆς πολιτείας κοινωνοῦσαι, αὗται, ἃν τι ἴδωσιν ἀντίπαλον, ταχὺ 19 ἀποστήσονται· εἰ μέντοι συγκλεισθήσονται ταῖς τε ἐπιγαμίαις καὶ ἐγκτήσεσι παρ' ἀλλήλοις, ἃς ἐψηφισμένοι εἰσὶ, καὶ γινώσκονται ὅτι μετὰ τῶν κρατούντων ἔπεσθαι κερδαλέον ἐστὶν ὥσπερ Ἀρκάδες, ὅταν μεθ' ὑμῶν ἴωσι, τά τε αὐτῶν σφύζουσι καὶ τὰ ἀλλότρια ἀρπάζουσιν, ἴσως οὐκέθ' ὁμοίως εὖλυτα ἔσται.

20 Λεχθέντων δὲ τούτων ἐδίδοσαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοῖς συμμάχοις λόγον καὶ ἐκέλευον συμβουλεύειν ὃ τι γινώσκει τις ἄριστον τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ τε καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις. ἐκ τούτου μέντοι πολλοὶ μὲν συνηγόρευον στρατιὰν ποιεῖν, μάλιστα δὲ οἱ βουλόμενοι χαρίζεσθαι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, καὶ ἔδοξε πέμπειν τὸ εἰς τοὺς μυρίους 21 σύνταγμα ἐκάστην πόλιν. λόγοι δὲ ἐγένοντο ἀργύριόν τε ἀντ' ἀνδρῶν ἐξεῖναι διδόναι τῇ βουλομένη τῶν πόλεων, τριώβολον Αἰγίναϊον κατὰ ἄνδρα, ἵππεας τε εἴ τις παρέχοι, ἀντὶ τεττάρων

deity, perhaps, has so ordered it that men's pride 883 B.C.
should increase with their power.

"We, then, men of Lacedaemon and of the allied states, report that such are the conditions there; it is for you to deliberate as to whether they seem to deserve attention. But you must understand this also, that the power which we have described as great is not yet hard to wrestle with. For such of the cities as share in the citizenship of Olynthus unwillingly, these, I say, will quickly fall away if they see any opposing force presenting itself; if, however, they once become closely connected by reciprocal rights of intermarriage and of property, which have already been voted, and find that it is profitable to be on the side of the conqueror—even as the Arcadians when they go with you keep their own possessions safe and plunder those of others—then, it may be, this confederacy will no longer be so easy to break up."

When these things had been said, the Lacedaemonians gave their allies permission to speak and bade them advise whatever course anyone of them deemed best both for Peloponnesus and for the allies. Thereupon many, especially those who desired to gratify the Lacedaemonians, advocated raising an army, and it was decided that each state should send its proportionate contingent for an army of ten thousand. Proposals were also made that any state which so desired should be allowed to give money instead of men, three Aeginetan¹ obols per day for each man, while if any state normally furnished horsemen, pay equal to that of four hoplites should be given for

¹ The Aeginetan obol was worth nearly half as much again as the Attic; *cp.* I. v. 5.

- 22 ὀπλιτῶν τὸν μισθὸν τῷ ἵππῳ δίδοσθαι· εἰ δέ τις τῶν πόλεων ἐκλίποι τὴν στρατιάν,¹ ἐξεῖναι Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπιζημιοῦν στατῆρι κατὰ τὸν ἄνδρα
- 23 τῆς ἡμέρας. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἔδοξεν, ἀναστάντες οἱ Ἀκάνθιοι πάλιν ἐδίδασκον ὥς ταῦτα καλὰ μὲν εἶη τὰ ψηφίσματα, οὐ μέντοι δυνατὰ ταχὺ περανθῆναι. βέλτιον οὖν ἔφασαν εἶναι, ἐν ᾧ αὕτη ἡ παρασκευὴ ἀθροίζοιτο, ὥς τάχιστα ἄνδρα ἐξελθεῖν ἄρχοντα καὶ δύναμιν ἐκ Λακεδαίμονός τε, ὅση ἂν ταχὺ ἐξέλθοι, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων· τούτου γὰρ γενομένου τίς τε οὐπω προσκεχωρηκυίας πόλεις στήναι ἂν καὶ τὰς βεβιασμένας
- 24 ἦττον ἂν συμμαχεῖν. δοξάντων δὲ καὶ τούτων, ἐκπέμπουσιν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Εὐδαμίδαν, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ νεοδαμῳδεῖς τε καὶ τῶν περιοίκων καὶ τῶν Σκιριτῶν ἄνδρας ὥς δισχιλίους. ὁ μέντοι Εὐδαμίδας ἐξιὼν Φοιβίδαν τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐδεήθη τῶν ἐφόρων τοὺς ὑπολειπομένους τῶν ἑαυτῷ προστεταγμένων ἀθροίσαντα μετιέναι· αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπεὶ ἀφίκετο εἰς τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρία, ταῖς μὲν δεομέναις τῶν πόλεων φρουροὺς ἔπεμπε, Ποτείδαιαν δὲ καὶ προσέλαβεν ἐκούσαν, σύμμαχον ἤδη ἐκείνων οὔσαν, καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ὀρμώμενος ἐπολέμει ὥσπερ εἰκὸς τὸν ἐλάττω ἔχοντα δύναμιν.
- 25 Ὁ δὲ Φοιβίδας, ἐπεὶ ἠθροίσθησαν αὐτῷ οἱ ὑπολειφθέντες τοῦ Εὐδαμίδου, λαβὼν αὐτοὺς ἐπο-

¹ στρατιάν MSS.: στρατείαν Kel.

each horseman; and if any one of the states should 888 B.C. fail to send its contingent to the army, the Lacedaemonians were to be permitted to fine such state a stater¹ per day for each man. When these things had been decided upon, the Acanthians rose again and declared that while these measures were excellent, it nevertheless was not possible for them to be speedily carried out. They said it was better, therefore, that while this expedition was gathering, a commander should set out with all possible speed with a force from Lacedaemon, of such size as could take the field quickly, and likewise from the other states; for if this were done, the cities which had not yet gone over to the Olynthians would take no step in that direction, and those which had been coerced would be less likely to continue in alliance with them. This plan also was adopted, and the Lacedaemonians sent out Eudamidas, and with him emancipated Helots and men of the Perioeci and the Sciritans² to the total number of about two thousand. Now Eudamidas on setting out requested the ephors to allow Phoebidas, his brother, to gather together all the troops assigned to him which were left behind and to follow after him; as for himself, when he reached the region of the Thracian coast, he sent garrisons to such of the cities as desired them, gained possession of Potidaea, which came over voluntarily, although it was already an ally of the Olynthians, and making that city his base of operations, carried on war in the way one naturally would who had an inferior force.

Then Phoebidas, after he had gathered together the remaining portion of Eudamidas' troops, took

¹ i.e. two drachmas.

² A people who lived on the northern frontier of Laconia.

- ρεύετο. ὥς δ' ἐγένοντο ἐν Θήβαις, ἐστρατοπε-
 δεύσαντο μὲν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως περὶ τὸ γυμνάσιον·
 στασιαζόντων δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων, πολεμαρχοῦντες
 μὲν ἐτύγχανον Ἴσμηνίας τε καὶ Λεοντιάδης, διά-
 φοροι δὲ ὄντες ἀλλήλοις καὶ ἀρχηγὸς ἑκάτερος
 τῶν ἐταιριῶν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἴσμηνίας διὰ τὸ μῖσος
 τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων οὐδὲ ἐπλησίαζε τῷ Φοιβίδᾳ.
 ὁ μέντοι Λεοντιάδης ἄλλως τε ἐθεράπευεν αὐτόν,
 26 καὶ ἐπεὶ εἰσφκειώθη, ἔλεγε τάδε· Ἐξεστί σοι, ὦ
 Φοιβίδα, τῇδε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ μέγιστα ἀγαθὰ τῇ σεαυ-
 τοῦ πατρίδι ὑπουργῆσαι· ἐὰν γὰρ ἀκολουθήσης
 ἐμοὶ σὺν τοῖς ὀπλίταις, εἰσάξω σε ἐγὼ εἰς τὴν
 ἀκρόπολιν. τούτου δὲ γενομένου νόμιζε τὰς Θή-
 βας παντάπασιν ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ ἡμῖν
 27 τοῖς ὑμετέροις φίλοις ἔσεσθαι. καίτοι νῦν μὲν,
 ὥς ὀρᾷς, ἀποκεκήρυκται μηδένα μετὰ σοῦ στρα-
 τεύειν Θηβαίων ἐπ' Ὀλυνθίους· ἐὰν δέ γε σὺ
 ταῦτα μεθ' ἡμῶν πράξης, εὐθύς σοι ἡμεῖς πολλοὺς
 μὲν ὀπλίτας, πολλοὺς δὲ ἱππέας συμπέμψομεν·
 ὥστε πολλῇ δυνάμει βοηθήσεις τῷ ἀδελφῷ, καὶ
 ἐν ᾧ μέλλει ἐκεῖνος Ὀλυνθον καταστρέφεσθαι,
 σὺ κατεστραμμένος ἔσει Θήβας, πολὺ μείζω πό-
 28 λιν Ὀλύνθου. ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Φοιβίδας
 ἀνεκουφίσθη· καὶ γὰρ ἦν τοῦ λαμπρόν τι ποιῆσαι
 πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ ζῆν ἐραστής, οὐ μέντοι λογι-
 στικός γε οὐδὲ πάννυ φρόνιμος ἐδόκει εἶναι. ἐπεὶ
 δὲ ὠμολόγησε ταῦτα, προορμήσαι μὲν αὐτὸν ἐκέ-

them under his command and began his march. And 333 B.C. when they arrived in the district of Thebes, they encamped outside the city, near the gymnasium. Now since the Thebans were divided by factions, it chanced that Ismenias and Leontiades, who were polemarchs,¹ were at variance with one another, and both of them leaders of their respective political clubs. Hence Ismenias, on account of his hatred for the Lacedaemonians, did not even go near Phoebidas. Leontiades, however, not only paid court to him in various ways, but when he had become intimate with him, spoke to him as follows: "Phoebidas, it is within your power this day to render the greatest service to your fatherland; for if you will follow me with your hoplites, I will lead you into the Acropolis. And this once accomplished, be sure that Thebes will be completely under the control of the Lacedaemonians and of us who are your friends; whereas now, as you see, proclamation has been made forbidding any Theban from serving with you against the Olynthians. But if you join with us and accomplish this deed, we will at once send with you many hoplites and many horsemen; so that you will go to the aid of your brother with a large force, and while he is getting ready to subdue Olynthus, you will already have subdued Thebes, a far greater state than Olynthus." When Phoebidas heard this, he was filled with buoyant hopes; for he was a man with a far greater passion for performing some brilliant achievement than for life itself, although, on the other hand, he was not regarded as one who weighed his acts or had much practical wisdom. And when he had agreed to the plan, Leontiades directed him to set out on

¹ The polemarchs were the chief officials of Thebes.

- λευσεν, ὥσπερ συνεσκευασμένος ἦν εἰς τὸ ἀπιε-
 ναι· Ἡνίκα δ' ἂν ἦ καιρός, πρὸς σέ ἤξω ἐγώ, ἔφη ὁ
 29 Λεοντιάδης, καὶ αὐτὸς σοι ἡγήσομαι. ἐν ᾧ δὲ ἡ
 μὲν βουλὴ ἐκάθητο ἐν τῇ ἐν ἀγορᾷ στοᾷ διὰ τὸ
 τὰς γυναῖκας ἐν τῇ Καδμεΐᾳ θεσμοφοριάζειν,
 θέρους δὲ ὄντος καὶ μεσημβρίας πλείστη ἦν ἐρη-
 μία ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς, ἐν τούτῳ προσελάσας ἐφ' ἵππου
 ὁ Λεοντιάδης ἀποστρέφει τε τὸν Φοιβίδαν καὶ
 ἡγείται εὐθὺς εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. καταστήσας δ'
 ἐκεῖ τὸν Φοιβίδαν καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ παρα-
 δούς τὴν βαλανάγραν αὐτῷ τῶν πυλῶν, καὶ εἰπὼν
 μηδένα παριέναι εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ὄντινα μὴ
 αὐτὸς κελεύοι, εὐθὺς ἐπορεύετο πρὸς τὴν βουλήν.
 30 ἔλθων δὲ εἶπε τάδε· Ὅτι μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες, Λακε-
 δαιμόνιοι κατέχουσι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, μηδὲν ἀθυ-
 μεῖτε· οὐδενὶ γάρ φασι πολέμιοι ἦκειν, ὅστις μὴ
 πολέμου ἐρᾷ· ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦ νόμου κελεύοντος ἐξεῖναι
 πολεμάρχῳ λαβεῖν, εἴ τις δοκεῖ ἄξια θανάτου
 ποιεῖν, λαμβάνω τουτονὶ Ἴσμηνίαν, ὡς πολεμο-
 ποιοῦντα. καὶ ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ λοχαγοί τε καὶ οἱ μετὰ
 τούτων τεταγμένοι, ἀνίστασθε, καὶ λαβόντες
 31 ἀπαγάγετε τοῦτον ἔνθα εἴρηται. οἱ μὲν δὴ εἰδότες
 τὸ πρᾶγμα παρῆσάν τε καὶ ἐπείθοντο καὶ συνε-
 λάμβανον. τῶν δὲ μὴ εἰδόντων, ἐναντίων δὲ ὄν-
 των τοῖς περὶ Λεοντιάδην, οἱ μὲν ἔφευγον εὐθὺς
 ἔξω τῆς πόλεως, δείσαντες μὴ ἀποθάνοιεν· οἱ δὲ
 καὶ οἵκαδε πρῶτον ἀπεχώρησαν· ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰργμένον

¹ The Theban Acropolis, which was the usual meeting-place of the senate.

his way, prepared as he was to depart from Thebes. 888 B.C.
 "And when the proper time arrives," said Leontiades,
 "I will return to you and act as your guide myself."
 Accordingly, while the senate was in session in the
 portico in the market-place, for the reason that the
 women were celebrating the festival of the Thesmo-
 phoria in the Cadmea,¹ and while, inasmuch as it was
 summer and midday, the streets were entirely
 deserted, at this time Leontiades rode out on horse-
 back to overtake Phoebidas, turned him back, and led
 him straight to the Acropolis. And after establishing
 Phoebidas there with the troops under his command,
 giving him the key to the gates, and telling him to
 let no one into the Acropolis unless he himself so
 ordered, he proceeded at once to the meeting of the
 senate. And when he had arrived there, he spoke
 as follows: "Be not at all despondent, gentlemen,
 because the Lacedaemonians are in possession of the
 Acropolis; for they say that they have not come as
 enemies to anyone who is not eager for war; as for
 me, since the law directs that a polemarch shall
 have power to arrest any man who seems to be
 doing deeds which deserve death, I arrest Ismenias
 here, as an instigator of war. Therefore do you
 captains, and you who have been detailed with
 them, arise, seize this man, and lead him away to
 the place where you have been directed to take
 him." Now those who knew of the plan were of
 course present, obeyed the order, and seized Isme-
 nias; but of those who did not know about it and
 were opponents of Leontiades and his party, some
 fled at once out of the city, fearing that they would
 be put to death; others withdrew at first to their
 homes; when they learned, however, that Ismenias

τὸν Ἴσμηνίαν ἤσθοντο ἐν τῇ Καδμείᾳ, τότε δὲ ἀπεχώρησαν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας οἱ ταῦτά γινώσκοντες Ἀνδροκλείδα τε καὶ Ἴσμηνίᾳ μάλιστα τριακόσιοι.

- 32 Ὡς δὲ ταῦτ' ἐπέπρακτο, πολέμαρχον μὲν ἀντὶ Ἴσμηνίου ἄλλον εἶλοντο, ὃ δὲ Λεοντιάδης εὐθύς εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἐπορεύετο. ἦρε δ' ἐκεῖ τοὺς μὲν ἐφόρους καὶ τῆς πόλεως τὸ πλῆθος χαλεπῶς ἔχοντας τῷ Φοιβίδᾳ, ὅτι οὐ προσταχθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ταῦτα ἐπεπράχει· ὁ μέντοι Ἀγησίλαος ἔλεγεν ὅτι εἰ μὲν βλαβερά τῇ Λακεδαίμονι πεπραχῶς εἴη, δίκαιος εἴη ζημιουῖσθαι, εἰ δὲ ἀγαθὰ, ἀρχαῖον εἶναι νόμιμον ἐξεῖναι τὰ τοιαῦτα αὐτοσχεδιάζειν. Αὐτὸ οὖν τοῦτ', ἔφη, προσήκει σκοπεῖν, πότερον ἀγαθὰ ἢ κακὰ ἐστί τὰ πεπραγμένα.
- 33 Ἐπειτα μέντοι ὁ Λεοντιάδης ἐλθὼν εἰς τοὺς ἐκκλήτους ἔλεγε τοιάδε· Ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ὥς μὲν πολεμικῶς εἶχον ὑμῖν οἱ Θηβαῖοι, πρὶν τὰ νῦν πεπραγμένα γενέσθαι, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐλέγετε· ἑωρᾶτε γὰρ αἰεὶ τούτους τοῖς μὲν ὑμετέροις δυσμενέσι φιλικῶς ἔχοντας, τοῖς δ' ὑμετέροις φίλοις ἐχθροὺς ὄντας. οὐκ ἐπὶ μὲν τὸν ἐν Πειραιεῖ δῆμον, πολεμιώτατον ὄντα ὑμῖν, οὐκ ἠθέλησαν συστρατεῦν; Φωκεῦσι δέ, ὅτι ὑμᾶς¹
- 34 εὐμενεῖς ὄντας ἑώρων, ἐπεστράτευν; ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ πρὸς Ὀλυνθίους εἰδότες ὑμᾶς πόλεμον ἐκφέροντας συμμαχίαν ἐποιοῦντο, καὶ ὑμεῖς γε τότε μὲν αἰεὶ προσείχετε τὸν νοῦν πότε ἀκούσεσθε βιαζομένους αὐτοὺς τὴν Βοιωτίαν ὑφ' αὐτοῖς

¹ ὑμᾶς MSS.: ὑμῖν Kel.

was imprisoned in the Cadmea, then all those who 388 B.C.
held the same views as Androcleidas and Ismenias retired to Athens, to the number of about three hundred.

When these things had been accomplished, they chose another polemarch in place of Ismenias, but Leontiades proceeded at once to Lacedaemon. There he found the ephors and the majority of the citizens angry with Phoebidas because he had acted in this matter without authorization by the state. Agesilaus, however, said that if what he had done was harmful to Lacedaemon, he deserved to be punished, but if advantageous, it was a time-honoured custom that a commander, in such cases, had the right to act on his own initiative. "It is precisely this point, therefore," he said, "which should be considered, whether what has been done is good or bad for the state."

Then Leontiades came before the assembly and spoke as follows: "Men of Lacedaemon, that the Thebans were hostile to you before what has now been done came to pass, you were wont to say yourselves; for you saw that they were always friendly to your enemies, and enemies to your friends. Did they not refuse to join you in the campaign against the Athenian commons in Piraeus, who were bitter enemies of yours, and did they not, on the other hand, march against the Phocians because they saw that you were well disposed towards them? Again, knowing that you were making war upon the Olynthians, they undertook to conclude an alliance with them, and you in those past days were always uneasily watching for the time when you should hear that they were forcing Boeotia to be under their

- εἶναι· νῦν δ' ἐπεὶ τάδε πέπρακται, οὐδὲν ὑμᾶς δεῖ
Θηβαίους φοβεῖσθαι· ἀλλ' ἀρκέσει ὑμῖν μικρὰ
σκυτάλη ὥστ' ἐκείθεν πάντα ὑπηρετεῖσθαι ὅσων
ἂν δέησθε, ἐὰν ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς ὑμῶν, οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς
35 ἡμῶν ἐπιμελήσθε. ἀκούουσι ταῦτα τοῖς Λακε-
δαιμονίοις ἔδοξε τὴν τε ἀκρόπολιν ὥσπερ κατεί-
ληπτο φυλάττειν καὶ Ἰσμηνίᾳ κρίσιν ποιῆσαι.
ἐκ δὲ τούτου πέμπουσι δικαστὰς Λακεδαιμονίων
μὲν τρεῖς, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν συμμαχίδων ἓνα ἀφ' ἐκά-
στης καὶ μικρᾶς καὶ μεγάλης πόλεως. ἐπεὶ δὲ
συνεκαθίζετο τὸ δικαστήριον, τότε δὴ κατηγο-
ρεῖτο τοῦ Ἰσμηνίου καὶ ὡς βαρβαρίζοι καὶ ὡς
ξένος τῷ Πέρσῃ ἐπ' οὐδενὶ ἀγαθῷ τῆς Ἑλλάδος
γεγενημένος εἴη καὶ ὡς τῶν παρὰ βασιλέως χρη-
μάτων μετειληφὼς εἴη καὶ ὅτι τῆς ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι
ταραχῆς πάσης ἐκείνός τε καὶ Ἀνδροκλείδας
36 αἰτιώτατοι εἶεν. ὁ δὲ ἀπελογεῖτο μὲν πρὸς πάντα
ταῦτα, οὐ μέντοι ἔπειθέ γε τὸ μὴ οὐ μεγαλοπρά-
γμων τε καὶ κακοπράγμων εἶναι. καὶ ἐκείνος μὲν
κατεψηφίσθη καὶ ἀποθνήσκει· οἱ δὲ περὶ Λεον-
τιάδην εἰχὼν τε τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις
ἔτι πλείω ὑπηρετοῦν ἢ προσετάρτετο αὐτοῖς.
37 Τούτων δὴ πεπραγμένων οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι
πολὺ προθυμότερον τὴν εἰς τὴν Ὀλυμπον στρα-
τιὰν συναπέστελλον. καὶ ἐκπέμπουσι Τελευτίαν
μὲν ἀρμοστήν, τὴν δ' εἰς τοὺς μυρίους σύνταξιν
αὐτοὶ τε ἅπαρτας συνεξέπεμπον, καὶ εἰς τὰς
συμμαχίδας πόλεις σκυτάλας διέπεμπον, κελεύ-
οντες ἀκολουθεῖν Τελευτίᾳ κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τῶν

sway; but now that this stroke has been accom- 333 B.C.
 plished, there is no need of your fearing the
 Thebans; on the contrary, a brief message from you
 will suffice to secure from that quarter all the
 support that you may desire, provided only you
 show as much concern for us as we have shown
 for you." Upon hearing these words the Lacedaemonians resolved, so long as the Acropolis had
 been seized, to keep it garrisoned, and to bring
 Ismenias to trial. Accordingly they sent out as
 judges three Lacedaemonians and one from each of
 the allied states, whether small or great. And it
 was not until the court held its sitting that charges
 were brought against Ismenias,—that he was a sup-
 porter of the barbarians, that he had become a
 guest-friend of the Persian satrap to the hurt of
 Greece, that he had received a share of the money
 which came from the King, and that he and Andro-
 cleidas were chiefly responsible for all the trouble
 and disorder in Greece. To all these charges he
 did indeed make a defence, but he failed to per-
 suade the court that he was not a man of great
 and evil undertakings. So he was pronounced
 guilty and put to death; as for Leontiades and
 his party, they held possession of Thebes and gave
 the Lacedaemonians their support in even more
 than was demanded of them.

After these things had been accomplished, the 332 B.C.
 Lacedaemonians with much more spirit set about
 dispatching the joint army to Olynthus. They sent
 out Teleutias as governor, and not only sent with him
 their own full contingent of the total ten thousand
 men, but also transmitted official dispatches to the
 various allied states, directing them to follow Teleutias

- συμμάχων. καὶ οἳ τε ἄλλοι προθύμως τῷ Τε-
 λευτίᾳ ὑπηρετοῦν, καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἀχάριστος ἐδόκει
 εἶναι τοῖς ὑπουργοῦσί τι, καὶ ἡ τῶν Θηβαίων δὲ
 πόλις, ἅτε καὶ Ἀγησιλάου ὄντος αὐτῷ ἀδελφοῦ,
 39 προθύμως συνέπεμψε καὶ ὀπλίτας καὶ ἵππέας. ὁ
 δὲ σπεύδων μὲν οὐ μάλα ἐπορεύετο, ἐπιμελόμενος
 δὲ τοῦ τε μὴ ἀδικῶν τοὺς φίλους πορεύεσθαι καὶ
 τοῦ ὥς πλείστην δύναμιν ἀθροίζειν. προέπεμπε
 δὲ καὶ πρὸς Ἀμύνταν, καὶ ἡξίου αὐτὸν καὶ ξένους
 μισθοῦσθαι καὶ τοῖς πλησίον βασιλεῦσι χρήματα
 δίδοναι, ὥς συμμάχους εἶναι, εἴπερ βούλοιτο τὴν
 ἀρχὴν ἀναλαβεῖν. ἔπεμπε δὲ καὶ πρὸς Δέρδαν
 τὸν Ἐλιμίας ἄρχοντα, διδάσκων ὅτι οἱ Ὀλύνθιοι
 κατεστραμμένοι τὴν μείζω δύναμιν Μακεδονίας
 εἶεν, καὶ οὐκ ἀνήσουσι τὴν ἐλάττω, εἰ μὴ τις
 40 αὐτοὺς παύσει τῆς ὕβρεως. ταῦτα δὲ ποιῶν,
 μάλα πολλὴν ἔχων στρατιὰν ἀφίκετο εἰς τὴν
 ἑαυτῶν συμμαχίδα. ἐπεὶ δ' ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν Ποτεί-
 δαιαν, ἐκεῖθεν συνταξάμενος ἐπορεύετο εἰς τὴν
 πολεμίαν. καὶ πρὸς μὲν τὴν πόλιν ἰὼν οὔτ' ἔκαεν
 οὔτ' ἔκοπτε, νομίζων, εἴ τι ποιήσῃε τούτων, ἐμ-
 ποδῶν ἂν αὐτῷ πάντα γίγνεσθαι καὶ προσιόντι
 καὶ ἀπιόντι· ὁπότε δὲ ἀναχωροῖη ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως,
 τότε ὀρθῶς ἔχειν κόπτοντα τὰ δένδρα ἐμποδῶν
 καταβάλλειν, εἴ τις ὀπισθεν ἐπίοι.

40 Ὡς δὲ ἀπεῖχεν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως οὐδὲ δέκα
 στάδια, ἔθετο τὰ ὄπλα, εὐώνυμον μὲν αὐτὸς

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in accordance with the resolution of the allies. And 332 B.C.
all the states gave their hearty support to Teleutias,
—for he was regarded as a man not ungrateful to
those who performed any service,—while the Theban
state in particular, inasmuch as he was a brother of
Agesilaus, eagerly sent with him both hoplites and
horsemen. Now he prosecuted his march with no
great speed, his concern being rather to make the
journey without doing any harm to the friends of his
state and to collect as large a force as possible. He
also sent word on ahead to Amyntas and asked him
not only to hire mercenaries, but likewise to give
money to the kings in his neighbourhood, that they
might become allies, if he really wanted to recover
his dominions. Furthermore, he sent to Derdas,
the ruler of Elimia, pointing out to him that the
Olynthians had already subdued the greater power,
Macedonia, and would not let the lesser escape
unless someone put a stop to their presumption.
As a result of his doing these things he had a
very large army when he arrived in the territory of
his state's allies. And when he had come to Potidaea,
he proceeded from there with his army in order
of battle into the enemy's country. Now on his way
toward the city of Olynthus he neither burned nor
cut down, believing that anything of this sort he
should do would prove so many obstacles in his way
both as he approached and as he withdrew; but
he believed that when he should retire from the
city it would be right to cut down the trees and put
them in the way of anyone who might come against
him from behind.

And when he was distant from the city not so
much as ten stadia, he halted the army, himself

- ἔχων, οὕτω γὰρ συνέβαινεν αὐτῷ κατὰ τὰς πύ-
 λας ἰέναι ἢ ἐξῆσαν οἱ πολέμιοι, ἢ δὲ ἄλλη
 φάλαγξ τῶν συμμάχων ἀπετέτατο πρὸς τὸ
 δεξιόν. καὶ τῶν ἱππέων δὲ τοὺς μὲν Λάκωνας
 καὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους καὶ ὅσοι τῶν Μακεδόνων
 παρήσαν ἐπὶ τῷ δεξιῷ ἐτάξατο, παρὰ δὲ αὐτῷ
 εἶχε Δέρδαν τε καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνου ἱππέας ὥς εἰς
 τετρακοσίους διὰ τε τὸ ἄγασθαι τοῦτο τὸ ἱπ-
 πικὸν καὶ διὰ τὸ θεραπεύειν τὸν Δέρδαν, ὥς
 11 ἡδόμενος παρείη. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι ἐλθόν-
 τες ἀντιπαρετάξαντο ὑπὸ τῷ τείχει, συσπειρα-
 θέντες αὐτῶν οἱ ἱππεῖς ἐμβάλλουσι κατὰ τοὺς
 Λάκωνας καὶ Βοιωτούς. καὶ Πολύχαρμόν τε
 τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον ἵππαρχον καταβάλλουσιν
 ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου καὶ κείμενον πάμπολλα κατέ-
 τρωσαν, καὶ ἄλλους ἀπέκτειναν, καὶ τέλος τρέ-
 πονται τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ δεξιῷ κέρατι ἱππικόν. φευ-
 γόντων δὲ τῶν ἱππέων ἐνέκλινε καὶ τὸ ἐχόμενον
 πεζὸν αὐτῶν, καὶ ὅλον δ' ἂν ἐκινδύνευσεν ἡττη-
 θῆναι τὸ στράτευμα, εἰ μὴ Δέρδας ἔχων τὸ
 ἑαυτοῦ ἱππικὸν εὐθύς πρὸς τὰς πύλας τῶν Ὀλυν-
 θίων ἤλασεν. ἐπῆει δὲ καὶ ὁ Τελευτίας σὺν τοῖς
 42 περὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐν τάξει. ὥς δὲ ταῦτα ἤσθοντο οἱ
 Ὀλύνθιοι ἱππεῖς, δείσαντες μὴ ἀποκλεισθεῖεν
 τῶν πυλῶν, ἀναστρέψαντες ἀπεχώρουν πολλῇ
 σπουδῇ. ἔνθα δὴ ὁ Δέρδας παρελαύνοντας
 παμπόλλους¹ αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινεν. ἀπεχώρησαν
 δὲ καὶ οἱ πεζοὶ τῶν Ὀλυνθίων εἰς τὴν πόλιν·
 οὐ μέντοι πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ἀπέθανον, ἅτε ἐγγὺς
 43 τοῦ τείχους ὄντος. ἐπεὶ δὲ τροπαῖόν τε ἐστάθη

¹ After παμπόλλους the MSS. have ἱππέας: Kel. brackets, following Dindorf.

occupying the left wing,—for in this way it fell to him to advance in the direction of the gate where the enemy issued forth,—while the rest of the phalanx, made up of the allies, stretched away to the right. As for the horsemen, he likewise posted upon the right wing the Laconians, the Thebans, and all the Macedonians who were present, while he kept by his own side Derdas and his horsemen, numbering about four hundred, not only because he admired this troop, but also to do honour to Derdas, so that he should be glad he had joined the expedition. But when the enemy came and formed in opposing line beneath the city wall, their horsemen, massing themselves together, charged upon the Laconians and Boeotians. And they not only struck down from his horse Polycharmus, the Lacedaemonian commander of cavalry, and inflicted very many wounds upon him as he lay, but they also killed others, and finally put to flight the cavalry upon the right wing. Now as the cavalry fled, the infantry next them also gave way, and the whole army, indeed, would have been in danger of being defeated had not Derdas with his troop dashed straight for the gates of the Olynthians. And Teleutias also advanced to the attack with his troops in battle order. When the Olynthian horsemen perceived these movements, being seized with fear lest they should be shut out from the gates, they turned about and retired in great haste. Then Derdas killed very many of them as they rode past him. And the foot-soldiers of the Olynthians also retired into the city; but not many of them were killed, because the wall was near. And when a trophy had been set up and

καὶ ἡ νίκη αὕτη τῷ Τελευτίᾳ ἐγεγένητο, ἀπὶ ὧν δὴ ἔκοπτε τὰ δένδρα. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν στρατευσάμενος τὸ θέρος διήκε καὶ τὸ Μακεδονικὸν στράτευμα καὶ τὸ τοῦ Δέρδα· πολλάκις μέντοι καὶ οἱ Ὀλύνθιοι καταθέοντες εἰς τὰς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων συμμαχίδας πόλεις ἐλεηλάτουν καὶ ἄνδρας ἀπεκτίννουν.

III. Ἀμα δὲ τῷ ἡρι ὑποφαινομένῳ οἱ μὲν Ὀλύνθιοι ἱππεῖς ὄντες ὡς ἑξακόσιοι κατεδεδραμήκεσαν εἰς τὴν Ἀπολλωνίαν ἅμα μεσημβρία καὶ διεσπαρμένοι ἐλεηλάτουν· ὁ δὲ Δέρδας ἐτύγχανε ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἀφίγμενος μετὰ τῶν ἱππέων τῶν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἀριστοποιούμενος ἐν τῇ Ἀπολλωνίᾳ. ὡς δ' εἶδε τὴν καταδρομὴν, ἡσυχίαν εἶχε, τοὺς θ' ἵππους ἐπεσκευασμένους καὶ τοὺς ἀμβάτας ἐξωπλισμένους ἔχων. ἐπειδὴ δὲ καταφρονητικῶς οἱ Ὀλύνθιοι καὶ εἰς τὸ προάστιον καὶ εἰς αὐτὰς τὰς πύλας ἤλαυνον, τότε δὴ συντεταγμένους ἔχων
 2 ἐξελαύνει. οἱ δὲ ὡς εἶδον, εἰς φυγὴν ὥρμησαν. ὁ δ' ὡς ἅπαξ ἐτρέψατο, οὐκ ἀνῆκεν ἐνενήκοντα στάδια διώκων καὶ ἀποκτιννύς, ἕως πρὸς αὐτὸ κατεδίωξε τῶν Ὀλυνθίων τὸ τεῖχος. καὶ ἐλέγετο ὁ Δέρδας ἀποκτεῖναι ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἔργῳ περὶ ὀγδοήκοντα ἱππέας. καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τειχήρεις τε μᾶλλον ἦσαν οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ τῆς χώρας ὀλίγην
 3 παντελῶς εἰργάζοντο. προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου, καὶ τοῦ Τελευτίου ἐστρατευμένου πρὸς τὴν τῶν Ὀλυνθίων πόλιν, ὡς εἴ τι δένδρον ὑπόλοιπον εἶη ἢ τι εἰργασμένον τοῖς πολεμίοις, φθείροι, ἐξελθόντες οἱ Ὀλύνθιοι ἱππεῖς ἡσυχῇ πορευόμενοι διέβησαν τὸν παρὰ τὴν πόλιν ῥέοντα

this victory had fallen to Teleutias, then as he withdrew he proceeded to cut down the trees. Now after continuing the campaign through this summer he dismissed both the Macedonian army and the horsemen of Derdas; the Olynthians, however, on their side made frequent raids into the territory of the cities allied with the Lacedaemonians, and carried off booty and killed men. 392 B.C.

III. At the very beginning of the following spring the Olynthian horsemen, about six hundred in number, had made a raid into the district of Apollonia at midday and were scattered about pillaging; and it chanced that on that day Derdas had arrived with his horsemen and was breakfasting at Apollonia. When he saw the raid, he kept quiet, keeping his horses saddled and bridled and their riders fully armed. But when the Olynthians came riding disdainfully not only into the suburbs, but to the very gates of the city, then he dashed forth with his men in good order. And upon seeing him the enemy took to flight. But he, when once he had turned them to flight, did not stop pursuing and killing for ninety stadia, until he had chased them to the very wall of the Olynthians. It was said, indeed, that Derdas killed in this action about eighty horsemen. And from this day forth the enemy stayed more closely within their wall and cultivated only an exceedingly small portion of their land. As time went on, however, and Teleutias had led his army up to the city of the Olynthians in order to destroy whatever tree was left or whatever field had been cultivated by the enemy, the Olynthian horsemen issued forth and, proceeding quietly, crossed the river which flows 391 B.C.

ποταμόν, καὶ ἐπορεύοντο¹ πρὸς τὸ ἐναντίον στρα-
τευμα. ὥς δ' εἶδεν ὁ Τελευτίας, ἀγανακτήσας τῇ
τόλμῃ αὐτῶν εὐθὺς Τλημονίδαν τὸν τῶν πελτα-
στῶν ἄρχοντα δρόμῳ φέρεσθαι εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐκέ-
4 λευσεν. οἱ δὲ Ὀλύνθιοι ὥς εἶδον προθέοντας
τοὺς πελταστάς, ἀναστρέψαντες ἀπεχώρουν
ἥσυχοι, καὶ διέβησαν πάλιν τὸν ποταμόν. οἱ
δ' ἠκολούθουν μάλα θρασέως καὶ ὥς φεύγουσι
διώξοντες ἐπιδιέβαινον. ἔνθα δὴ οἱ Ὀλύνθιοι
ἰππεῖς, ἥνίκα ἔτι εὐχείρωτοι αὐτοῖς ἐδόκουν εἶναι
οἱ διαβεβηκότες, ἀναστρέψαντες ἐμβάλλουσιν
αὐτοῖς, καὶ αὐτὸν τε ἀπέκτειναν τὸν Τλημονίδαν
5 καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πλείους ἢ ἑκατόν. ὁ δὲ Τελευτίας
ὥς εἶδε τὸ γιγνόμενον, ὀργισθεὶς ἀναλαβὼν τὰ
ὄπλα ἦγε μὲν ταχὺ τοὺς ὀπλίτας, διώκειν δὲ καὶ
τοὺς πελταστάς ἐκέλευε καὶ τοὺς ἰππέας καὶ μὴ
ἀνιέναι. πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν δὴ καὶ ἄλλοι τοῦ καιροῦ
ἐγγυτέρω τοῦ τείχους διώξαντες κακῶς ἀπεχώρη-
σαν, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι δ' ἐπεὶ ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων ἐβάλ-
λουντο, ἀποχωρεῖν τε ἠναγκάζοντο τεθορυβημένως
6 καὶ προφυλάττεσθαι τὰ βέλη. ἐν τούτῳ δὴ οἱ
Ὀλύνθιοι ἐπεξελαύνουσι μὲν τοὺς ἰππέας, ἐβοή-
θουν δὲ καὶ οἱ πελτασταί· τέλος δὲ καὶ οἱ ὀπλίται
ἐπεξέθεον, καὶ τεταραγμένη τῇ φάλαγγι προσπί-
πτουσι. καὶ ὁ μὲν Τελευτίας ἐνταῦθα μαχόμενος
ἀποθνήσκει. τούτου δὲ γενομένου εὐθὺς καὶ οἱ
ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἐνέκλιναν, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἔτι ἴστατο,
ἀλλὰ πάντες ἔφευγον, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ Σπαρτώλῳ, οἱ
δὲ ἐπὶ Ἀκάνθῳ, οἱ δὲ εἰς Ἀπολλωνίαν, οἱ πλεί-

¹ After ἐπορεύοντο the MSS. have ἥσυχῃ: Kel. brackets, following Dindorf.

by the city and held on their way towards the 381 B.C.
 opposing army. And when Teleutias saw them, being irritated at their audacity, he immediately ordered Tlemonidas, the leader of the peltasts, to charge against them on the run. Now when the Olynthians saw the peltasts sallying forth, they turned about, retired quietly, and crossed the river again. The peltasts, on the other hand, followed very rashly and, with the thought that the enemy were in flight, pushed into the river after them to pursue them. Thereupon the Olynthian horsemen, at the moment when they thought that those who had crossed the river were still easy to handle, turned about and dashed upon them, and they not only killed Tlemonidas himself, but more than one hundred of the others. But Teleutias, filled with anger when he saw what was going on, snatched up his arms and led the hoplites swiftly forward, while he ordered the peltasts and the horsemen to pursue and not stop pursuing. Now in many other instances those who have pressed a pursuit too close to a city's wall have come off badly in their retreat, and in this case also, when the men were showered with missiles from the towers, they were forced to retire in disorder and to guard themselves against the missiles. At this moment the Olynthians sent out their horsemen to the attack, and the peltasts also came to their support; finally, their hoplites likewise rushed out, and fell upon the Lacedaemonian phalanx when it was already in confusion. There Teleutias fell fighting. And when this happened, the troops about him at once gave way, and in fact no one stood his ground any longer, but all fled, some for Spartolus, others for Acanthus, others to Apollonia, and the

στοι δὲ εἰς Ποτείδαιαν. ὥς δ' ἄλλος ἄλλη ἔφευγον, οὕτω καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι ἄλλος ἄλλοσε διώκοντες παμπληθεῖς ἀπέκτειναν ἀνθρώπους καὶ ὃ τιπερ ὄφελος ἦν τοῦ στρατεύματος.

7 Ἐκ μέντοι γε τῶν τοιούτων παθῶν ἐγὼ φημι ἀνθρώπους παιδεύεσθαι μάλιστα μὲν οὖν ὥς οὐδ' οἰκέτας χρὴ ὀργῇ κολάζειν· πολλάκις γὰρ καὶ δεσπότης ὀργιζόμενος μείζω κακὰ ἔπαθον ἢ ἐποίησαν· ἀτὰρ ἀντιπάλους τὸ μετ' ὀργῆς ἀλλὰ μὴ γνώμῃ προσφέρεσθαι ὅλον ἀμάρτημα. ἡ μὲν γὰρ ὀργὴ ἀπρονόητον, ἡ δὲ γνώμῃ σκοπεῖ οὐδὲν ἤττον μή τι πάθῃ ἢ ὅπως βλάβῃ τι τοὺς πολεμίους.

8 Τοῖς δ' οὖν Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἐπεὶ ἤκουσαν τὸ πρᾶγμα, βουλευομένοις ἐδόκει οὐ φαύλην πεμπτέον δύναμιν εἶναι, ὅπως τό τε φρόνημα τῶν νενικηκότων κατασβεσθείη καὶ μὴ μάτην τὰ πεποιημένα γένοιτο. οὕτω δὲ γνόντες ἡγεμόνα μὲν Ἀγησίπολιν τὸν βασιλέα ἐκπέμπουσι, μετ' αὐτοῦ δὲ ὥσπερ Ἀγησιλάου εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν τριά-

9 κοντα Σπαρτιατῶν. πολλοὶ δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν περιοίκων ἐθέλονται καλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοὶ ἡκολούθουν, καὶ ξένοι τῶν τροφίμων καλουμένων, καὶ νόθοι τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν, μάλα εὐειδεῖς τε καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει καλῶν οὐκ ἄπειροι. συνεστρατεύοντο δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν συμμαχίδων πόλεων ἐθέλονταί, καὶ Θετταλῶν γε ἱππεῖς, γνωσθῆναι τῷ Ἀγησιπόλιδι βυλόμενοι, καὶ Ἀμύντας δὲ καὶ Δέρδας ἔτι προ-

majority to Potidaea. As they fled in all directions, §§1 B C
so likewise the enemy pursued in all directions, and
killed a vast number of men, including the most
serviceable part of the army.

From such disasters, however, I hold that men
are taught the lesson, chiefly, indeed, that they
ought not to chastise anyone, even slaves, in anger
—for masters in anger have often suffered greater
harm than they have inflicted; but especially that,
in dealing with enemies, to attack under the in-
fluence of anger and not with judgment is an abso-
lute mistake. For anger is a thing which does not
look ahead, while judgment aims no less to escape
harm than to inflict it upon the enemy.

When the Lacedaemonians heard of this affair, it
seemed to them as they deliberated that they must
send out no small force, in order that the pride of the
victors might be quenched and that the efforts al-
ready made might not go for nothing. Having come
to this conclusion, they sent out Agesipolis, the king,
as commander, and with him, as they had sent with
Agesilaus to Asia, thirty Spartiatae. There followed
with him also many of the Perioeci as volunteers,
men of the better class, and aliens who belonged
to the so-called foster-children¹ of Sparta, and sons
of the Spartiatae by Helot women, exceedingly fine-
looking men, not without experience of the good
gifts of the state. Furthermore, volunteers from
the allied states joined the expedition and horsemen
of the Thessalians, who wished to become known to
Agesipolis, while Amyntas and Derdas took part

¹ i.e. were brought up at Sparta and went through the
usual course of Spartan discipline. Xenophon's own sons
belonged to this class.

θυμότερον ἢ πρόσθεν. Ἀγησίπολις μὲν δὴ ταῦτα
πράττων ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Ὀλυνθον.

- 10 Ἡ δὲ τῶν Φλειασίων πόλις, ἐπαινεθεῖσα μὲν
ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀγησιπόλιδος ὅτι πολλὰ καὶ ταχέως
αὐτῷ χρήματα εἰς τὴν στρατείαν ἔδοσαν, νομί-
ζουσα δ' ἔξω ὄντος Ἀγησιπόλιδος οὐκ ἂν ἐξελθεῖν
ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Ἀγησίλαον, οὐδ' ἂν γενέσθαι ὥστε
ἅμα ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς βασιλέας ἔξω Σπάρτης
εἶναι, θρασέως οὐδὲν τῶν δικαίων ἐποίουν τοῖς
κατεληλυθόσιν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ δὴ φυγάδες ἡξίου-
ν τὰ ἀμφίλογα ἐν ἴσῳ δικαστηρίῳ κρίνεσθαι· οἱ δὲ
ἠνάγκαζον ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει διαδικάζεσθαι. λεγόν-
των δὲ τῶν κατεληλυθόντων, καὶ τίς αὕτη δίκη
εἴη ὅπου αὐτοὶ οἱ ἀδικοῦντες δικάζοιεν, οὐδὲν
- 11 εἰσήκουον. ἐκ τούτου μέντοι ἔρχονται εἰς Λακε-
δαίμονα οἱ κατελθόντες κατηγορήσοντες τῆς πό-
λεως, καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ τῶν οἰκοθεν συνηκολούθουν,
λέγοντες ὅτι πολλοῖς καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν οὐ δοκοῖεν
δίκαια πάσχειν. ἀγανακτήσασα δὲ τούτοις τῶν
Φλειασίων ἡ πόλις ἐζημίωσε πάντας ὅσοι μὴ
πεμπούσης τῆς πόλεως ἦλθον εἰς Λακεδαίμονα.
- 12 οἱ δὲ ζημιωθέντες οἵκαδε μὲν ὥκνουν ἀπιέναι,
μένοντες δ' ἐδίδασκον ὥς οὗτοι μὲν εἶψαν, οἱ
βιαζόμενοι ταῦτα, οἵπερ σφᾶς τε ἐξέβαλον καὶ
Λακεδαιμονίους ἀπέκλεισαν, οὗτοι δὲ οἱ πριά-
μενοί τε τὰ σφέτερα καὶ βιαζόμενοι μὴ ἀποδιδό-
ναι, οὗτοι δὲ καὶ νῦν διαπεπραγμένοι εἰσὶ ζημιω-
θῆναι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἐλθόντας,

with even greater eagerness than before. Under these circumstances it was that Agesipolis marched against Olynthus. 381 B.C.

Meanwhile the people of Phlius, partly because they had been commended by Agesipolis for giving him a large sum of money for his campaign and giving it speedily, partly because they thought that with Agesipolis abroad Agesilaus would not take the field against them, and that it never would happen that both the kings would be outside of Sparta at the same time, boldly refused to grant any of their rights to the restored exiles.¹ For while the exiles demanded that the questions in dispute should be brought to trial before an impartial court, their policy was to compel them to plead their cases in the city itself. And when the exiles asked what manner of trial that was, where the wrong-doers were themselves the judges, they refused to listen to them at all. Consequently these restored exiles came to Lacedaemon to present their charge against the state, and other people from home came with them, saying that many even among the citizens thought that the exiles were not receiving just treatment. But the state of Phlius, angered at this, fined all who had gone to Lacedaemon without being sent by the state. And those who were thus fined were afraid to return home, but remained and protested to the Lacedaemonians, saying: "These men, who are engaged in these high-handed proceedings, are the men who have banished us and have also excluded you from their city, these are the men who are buying our property and resorting to high-handed measures so as not to give it back, and now these same men have contrived to have a fine inflicted upon us for

- ὅπως τοῦ λοιποῦ μηδεὶς τολμῶη ἰέναι δηλώσω
 13 τὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει γιγνόμενα. τῷ δ' ὄντι ὑβρίζειν
 δοκούντων τῶν Φλειασίων φρουρὰν φαίνουσιν ἐπ'
 αὐτοὺς οἱ ἔφοροι. ἦν δὲ οὐ τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ ἀχθο-
 μένῳ ταῦτα· καὶ γὰρ τῷ μὲν πατρὶ αὐτοῦ Ἀρχι-
 δάμῳ ξένοι ἦσαν οἱ περὶ Ποδάνεμον, καὶ τότε τῶν
 κατεληλυθότων ἦσαν αὐτῷ δὲ οἱ ἀμφὶ Προκλέα
 14 τὸν Ἴππονίκου. ὥς δὲ τῶν διαβατηρίων γενομέ-
 νων οὐκ ἔμελλεν, ἀλλ' ἐπορεύετο, πολλὰι πρε-
 σβεΐαι ἀπήντων καὶ χρήματα ἐδίδοσαν, ὥστε μὴ
 ἐμβάλλειν. ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι οὐχ ἵνα ἀδικοίη
 στρατεύοιτο, ἀλλ' ὅπως τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις βοηθή-
 15 σειεν. οἱ δὲ τελευτῶντες πάντα ἔφασκον ποιήσιν,
 ἐδέοντό τε μὴ ἐμβάλλειν. ὁ δὲ πάλιν ἔλεγεν ὥς
 οὐκ ἂν πιστεύσειε λόγοις, καὶ γὰρ τὸ πρότερον
 ψεύσασθαι αὐτούς, ἀλλ' ἔργου τινὸς πιστοῦ δεῖν
 εἶναι. ἐρωτώμενος δὲ καὶ τί τοῦτ' ἂν εἴη; πάλιν
 ἀπεκρίνατο· "Ὅπερ καὶ πρόσθεν, εἶφη, ποιήσαντες
 οὐδὲν ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἡδίκηθητε. τοῦτο δὲ ἦν τὴν
 16 ἀκρόπολιν παραδοῦναι. οὐκ ἐθελόντων δὲ αὐτῶν
 τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ἐνέβαλέ τε εἰς τὴν χώραν καὶ ταχὺ
 περιτειχίσας ἐπολιόρκει αὐτούς. πολλῶν δὲ λε-
 γόντων Λακεδαιμονίων ὥς ὀλίγων ἔνεκεν ἀνθρώ-
 πων πόλει ἀπεχθάνοιντο πλέον πεντακισχιλίων
 ἀνδρῶν· καὶ γὰρ δὴ ὅπως τοῦτ' ἐνδηλον εἶη, οἱ
 Φλειάσιοι ἐν τῷ φανερῷ τοῖς ἔξω ἐκκλησίαζον·

¹ cp. iv. iv. 15.

coming here, so that in the future no one shall dare 381 B.C.
to come for the purpose of revealing what is going
on in the state." And since it seemed that the
Phliasians were really acting insolently, the ephors
called out the ban against them. Now this was not
displeasing to Agesilaus; for the followers of Podanemus
had been friends of his father Archidamus
and were at this time among the restored exiles;
while the partisans of Procles, the son of Hipponicus,
were friends of his own. And when, after the sacrifices
at the frontier had proved favourable, he made
no delay but proceeded on the march, many embassies
met him and offered him money not to invade
the country of Phlius. He replied, however, that
he was not taking the field to do wrong, but to aid
those who were suffering wrong. Finally they said
that they would do anything whatsoever, and begged
him not to invade. He answered again that he
could not trust to words, for they had proved false
to their word in the previous case, but he said there
was need of some deed that one could trust. And
when he was asked what manner of deed this would
be, he replied again: "The same thing," said he,
"that you did before,¹ and in doing which you
suffered no wrong whatever at our hands." By this
he meant giving over their Acropolis. As they refused
to do this, he invaded their land and quickly built a
wall of circumvallation around the city and besieged
them. And when many Lacedaemonians said that
merely for the sake of a few individuals they were
making themselves hated by a state of more than five
thousand men—for the Phliasians held their assemblies
in plain sight of the people outside the city just
for the purpose of making the fact of their numbers

- ὁ μέντοι Ἀγησίλαος πρὸς τοῦτο ἀντεμνηχανήσατο.
- 17 ὁπότε γὰρ ἐξίοιεν ἢ διὰ φιλίαν ἢ διὰ συγγένειαν τῶν φυγάδων, ἐδίδασκε ξυσσίτια τε αὐτῶν κατασκευάζειν καὶ εἰς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἱκανὸν διδόναι, ὅποσοι γυμνάζεσθαι ἐθέλοιεν· καὶ ὄπλα δὲ ἐκπορίζειν ἅπασιν τούτοις διεκελεύετο, καὶ μὴ ὀκνεῖν εἰς ταῦτα χρήματα δαιεῖζεσθαι. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα ὑπηρετοῦντες ἀπέδειξαν πλείους χιλίων ἀνδρῶν ἄριστα μὲν τὰ σώματα ἔχοντας, εὐτάκτους δὲ καὶ εὖοπλοτάτους· ὥστε τελευτῶντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἔλεγον ὡς τοιούτων δέοιντο συστρατιωτῶν.
- 18 Καὶ Ἀγησίλαος μὲν δὴ περὶ ταῦτα ἦν. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίπολις εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς Μακεδονίας προσιὼν ἔθετο πρὸς τῇ πόλει τῶν Ὀλυνθίων τὰ ὄπλα. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδεὶς ἀντεξῆι αὐτῷ, τότε τῆς Ὀλυνθίας εἴ τι ὑπόλοιπον ἦν ἐδίου καὶ εἰς τὰς συμμαχίδας ἰὼν αὐτῶν ἔφθειρε τὸν σῖτον· Τορώνην δὲ καὶ
- 19 προσβαλὼν εἶλε κατὰ κράτος. ἐν δὲ τούτοις ὄντα κατὰ θέρους ἀκμὴν καὶ μα περιφλεγὲς λαμβάνει αὐτόν. ὥς δὲ πρόσθεν ἑορακότα τὸ ἐν Ἀφύτει τοῦ Διονύσου ἱερὸν ἔρωσ αὐτὸν τότε ἔσχε τῶν τε σκιερῶν σκηνημάτων καὶ τῶν λαμπρῶν καὶ ψυχρῶν ὑδάτων. ἐκομίσθη μὲν οὖν ἐκεῖσε ἔτι ζῶν, ὅμως μέντοι ἐβδομαῖος ἀφ' οὗ ἔκαμεν ἔξω τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐτελεύτησε. καὶ ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἐν μέλιτι τεθεὶς καὶ κομισθεὶς οἴκαδε ἔτυχε τῆς βασιλικῆς ταφῆς.
- 20 Ἀγησίλαος δὲ τοῦτο ἀκούσας οὐχ ἢ τις ἂν ᾤετο ἐφήσθη ὡς ἀντιπάλῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐδάκρυσε

evident—Agesilaus devised a scheme to meet this 331 B.C.
 situation. Whenever any Phliasians came out of the city either from friendship or kinship with the exiles, he instructed the latter to form common messes of their own with such of the new-comers as were ready to undertake the army training, and to supply money enough for provisions; he also urged them to provide arms for all these people and not to hesitate to borrow money for this purpose. The exiles accordingly carried out his injunctions, and showed as a result more than a thousand men in splendid condition of body, well disciplined, and extremely well armed; so that the Lacedaemonians finally said that they had need of such fellow-soldiers.

Agesilaus, then, was occupied with these things. 330 B.C.
 As for Agesipolis, he advanced straight from Macedonia and halted near the city of the Olynthians. And when no one ventured to come out against him, he then laid waste whatever part of the Olynthian country was left unravaged, and proceeding into the territory of their allied cities, destroyed the corn; but Torone he attacked and captured by storm. While he was engaged in these operations, at midsummer a burning fever seized him. And since he had previously seen the sanctuary of Dionysus at Aphytis, a longing took possession of him at this time for its shady resting-places and its clear, cool waters. He was therefore carried thither, still living, but, nevertheless, on the seventh day from the time when he fell sick, he came to his end outside the sanctuary. And he was placed in honey and carried home, and received the royal burial.

When Agesilaus heard of this, he did not, as one might have expected, rejoice over it, as over the

καὶ ἐπόθησε τὴν συνουσίαν· συσκηνοῦσι μὲν γὰρ δὴ βασιλεῖς ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ, ὅταν οἴκοι ᾧσιν. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίπολις τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ ἱκανὸς μὲν ἦν καὶ ἡβητικῶν καὶ θηρευτικῶν καὶ ἵππικῶν καὶ παιδικῶν λόγων μετέχειν· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ ὑπηδεῖτο αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ συσκηνίᾳ, ὥσπερ εἰκὸς πρεσβύτερον. καὶ οἱ μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀντ' ἐκείνου Πολυβιάδην ἀρμοστήν ἐπὶ τὴν Ὀλυνθον ἐκπέμπουσιν.

- 21 Ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος ἤδη μὲν ὑπερέβαλε τὸν χρόνον, ὅσον ἐλέγετο ἐν Φλειοῦντι σῖτος εἶναι· τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἐγκράτεια γαστρὸς ἀκρατείας¹ διαφέρει ὥστε οἱ Φλειάσιοι τὸν ἥμισυν ψηφισάμενοι σῖτον τελεῖν ἢ πρόσθεν καὶ ποιοῦντες τοῦτο τὸν διπλάσιον τοῦ εἰκότος χρόνον πολιορκούμενοι
- 22 διήρκεσαν. καὶ τόλμα δὲ ἀτολμίας ἔσθ' ὅτε τοσοῦτον διαφέρει ὥστε Δελφίων τις, λαμπρὸς δοκῶν εἶναι, λαβὼν πρὸς αὐτὸν τριακοσίους ἄνδρας Φλειασίων ἱκανὸς μὲν ἦν κωλύειν τοὺς βουλομένους εἰρήνην ποιεῖσθαι, ἱκανὸς δὲ οἷς ἡπίσται εἶρξας φυλάττειν, ἐδύνατο δὲ εἷς τε τὰς φυλακὰς ἀναγκάζειν τὸ πλῆθος ἰέναι καὶ τούτους ἐφοδεύων πιστοὺς παρέχεσθαι. πολλάκις δὲ μεθ' ὧν εἶχε περὶ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκθέων ἀπέκρουε φύλακας ἄλλοτ'
- 23 ἄλλη τοῦ περιτετειχισμένου κύκλου. ἐπεὶ μέντοι οἱ ἐπίλεκτοι οὗτοι πάντα τρόπον ζητοῦντες οὐχ ἡϋρισκον σῖτον ἐν τῇ πόλει, ἐκ τούτου δὴ πέμψαντες πρὸς τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ἐδέοντο σπείσαι-

¹ Inserted by Kel., following Nauck.

death of an adversary, but he wept, and mourned 880 B.C.
 the loss of his companionship; for the kings of
 course lodge together when they are at home. And
 Agesipolis was a man well fitted to converse with
 Agesilaus about youthful days, hunting exploits,
 horses, and love affairs; besides this he also treated
 Agesilaus with deference in their association to-
 gether in their common quarters, as one would
 naturally treat an elder. In the place, then, of
 Agesipolis the Lacedaemonians sent out Polybiades
 to Olynthus as governor.

Now Agesilaus had already gone beyond the time 879 B.C.
 for which the food-supply in Phlius was said to
 suffice; for self-restraint in appetite differs so much
 from unrestrained indulgence that the Phliasians, by
 voting to consume half as much food as before and
 carrying out this decision, held out under siege for
 twice as long a time as was to have been expected.
 Furthermore, courage sometimes differs so much from
 cowardice that a certain Delphion, who was regarded
 as a brilliant man, taking to himself three hundred of
 the Phliasians, was able to hold in check those who
 desired to make peace, was able to shut up and keep
 under guard those whom he distrusted, and had the
 power to compel the masses of the people to go to
 their posts and by putting sentinels over them to
 keep these people faithful. Frequently also he
 would sally forth with the three hundred picked
 men and beat off the troops on guard at one
 point and another of the wall of circumvallation.
 When, however, these picked men with search-
 ing in every way could not find food in the city,
 thereupon they sent to Agesilaus and asked him to
 give them safe conduct for going on an embassy to

- σθαι πρεσβειαν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἰοῦσι· δεδόχθαι γὰρ σφίσιν ἔφασαν ἐπιτρέπειν τοῖς τέλεσι τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων χρῆσασθαι τῇ πόλει ὃ τι βού-
 24 λονται. ὁ δὲ ὀργισθεὶς ὅτι ἄκυρον αὐτὸν ἐποιοῦν, πέμψας μὲν πρὸς τοὺς οἴκοι φίλους διεπράξατο ἑαυτῷ ἐπιτραπῆναι τὰ περὶ Φλειοῦντος, ἐσπεί-
 σατο δὲ τῇ πρεσβείᾳ. φυλακῇ δὲ ἔτι ἰσχυροτέρα ἢ πρότερον ἐφύλαττεν, ἵνα μηδεὶς τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξίῃ. ὁμῶς μέντοι ὃ γὰρ Δελφίων καὶ στιγματίας τις μετ' αὐτοῦ, ὃς πολλὰ ὑφείλετο ὅπλα τῶν πολιορκούντων, ἀπέδρασαν νύκτωρ.
 25 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤκον ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος ἀπαγγέλλοντες ὅτι ἡ πόλις ἐπιτρέποι Ἀγησιλάῳ διαγνῶναι τὰ ἐν Φλειοῦντι ὅπως αὐτῷ δοκοίη, Ἀγησίλαος δὴ οὕτως ἔγνω, πεντήκοντα μὲν ἄνδρας τῶν κατε-
 ληλυθότων, πεντήκοντα δὲ τῶν οἰκοθεν πρῶτον μὲν ἀνακρίναι ὄντινά τε ζῆν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ ὄντινα ἀποθανεῖν δίκαιον εἶη· ἔπειτα δὲ νόμους θεῖναι, καθ' οὓς πολιτεύσονται· ἕως δ' ἂν ταῦτα διαπράξωνται, φυλακὴν καὶ μισθὸν τοῖς φρου-
 ροῖς ἐξ μηνῶν κατέλιπε. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας τοὺς μὲν συμμάχους ἀφῆκε, τὸ δὲ πολιτικὸν οἴκαδε ἀπήγαγε. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Φλειοῦντα οὕτως αὖ ἐπετετέλεστο ἐν ὅκτῳ μηνὶ καὶ ἐνιαυτῷ.
 26 Καὶ ὁ Πολυβιάδης δὲ δὴ παντάπασι κακῶς ἔχοντας λιμῷ τοὺς Ὀλυνθίους διὰ τὸ μήτ' ἐκ τῆς γῆς λαμβάνειν μήτε κατὰ θάλατταν εἰσάγεσθαι σίτον αὐτοῖς, ἠνάγκασε πέμψαι εἰς Λακεδαίμονα περὶ εἰρήνης· οἱ δ' ἐλθόντες πρέσβεις αὐτοκρά-

Lacedaemon; for they said that they had resolved to leave it to the authorities of the Lacedaemonians to do whatever they would with the city. Agesilaus, however, angered because they treated him as one without authority, sent to his friends at home and arranged that the decision about Phlius should be left to him, but nevertheless he gave safe conduct to the embassy. Then he kept guard with a force even stronger than before, in order that no one of the people in the city might escape. In spite of this, however, Delphion, and with him a branded desperado who had many times stolen away weapons from the besiegers, escaped by night. But when messengers arrived from Lacedaemon with word that the state left it to Agesilaus to decide as he thought best upon matters in Phlius, Agesilaus decided in this way—that fifty men from the restored exiles and fifty from the people at home should, in the first place, make inquiry to determine who ought justly to be left alive in the city and who ought to be put to death, and, secondly, should draw up a constitution under which to conduct the government; and until such time as these matters should be settled, he left behind him a garrison and six months' pay for those who composed it. After doing all this he dismissed the allies and led his citizen troops back home. And thus the affair of Phlius in its turn came to a conclusion, after a year and eight months.

At this time also Polybiades compelled the Olynthians, who were in an exceedingly wretched state from famine, inasmuch as they got no food from their own land and none was brought in to them by sea, to send to Lacedaemon to treat for peace; and those who went thither, being ambassadors with full

379 B.C.

τορες συνθήκας ἐποιήσαντο τὸν αὐτὸν μὲν ἐχθρὸν καὶ φίλον Λακεδαιμονίοις νομίζειν, ἀκολουθεῖν δὲ ὅποι ἂν ἡγῶνται καὶ σύμμαχοι εἶναι. καὶ ὁμόσαντες ταύταις ἐμμενεῖν οὕτως ἀπῆλθον οἴκαδε.

- 27 Προκεχωρηκότων δὲ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ὥστε Θηβαίους μὲν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Βοιωτοὺς παντάπασιν ἐπ' ἐκείνοις εἶναι, Κορινθίους δὲ πιστοτάτους γεγενῆσθαι, Ἀργεῖους δὲ τεταπεινωσθαι διὰ τὸ μηδὲν ἔτι ὠφελεῖν αὐτοὺς τῶν μηνῶν τὴν ὑποφοράν,¹ Ἀθηναίους δὲ ἡρημῶσθαι, τῶν δ' αὖ συμμάχων κεκολασμένων οἱ δυσμενῶς εἶχον αὐτοῖς, παντάπασιν ἤδη καλῶς καὶ ἀσφαλῶς ἢ ἀρχὴν ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς κατεσκευάσθαι.

IV. Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ἂν τις ἔχοι καὶ ἄλλα λέγειν καὶ Ἑλληνικὰ καὶ βαρβαρικά, ὡς θεοὶ οὔτε τῶν ἀσεβούντων οὔτε τῶν ἀνόσια ποιούντων ἀμελοῦσι· νῦν γε μὴν λέξω τὰ προκείμενα. Λακεδαιμόνιοί τε γὰρ οἱ ὁμόσαντες αὐτονόμους ἐάσειν τὰς πύλεις τὴν ἐν Θήβαις ἀκρόπολιν κατασχόντες ὑπ' αὐτῶν μόνων τῶν ἀδικηθέντων ἐκολάσθησαν, πρότερον² οὐδ' ὑφ' ἐνὸς τῶν πώποτε ἀνθρώπων κρατηθέντες, τοὺς τε τῶν πολιτῶν εἰσαγαγόντας εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν αὐτοὺς καὶ βουληθέντας Λακεδαιμονίοις δουλεύειν τὴν πόλιν ὥστε αὐτοὶ τυραννεῖν, τὴν τούτων ἀρχὴν ἐπτά

¹ διὰ . . . ὑποφοράν MSS.: Kel. brackets.

² πρότερον Wolf: πρῶτον Kel. with MSS.

powers, concluded a compact to count the same 370 D C
people enemies and friends as the Lacedaemonians did, to follow wherever they led the way, and to be their allies. Then after taking an oath that they would abide by this compact, they went back home.

And now that success had to such an extent attended the efforts of the Lacedaemonians that the Thebans and the rest of the Boeotians were completely in their power, the Corinthians had become absolutely faithful, the Argives had been humbled for the reason that their plea of the sacred months was no longer of any help to them, and the Athenians were left destitute of allies, while on the other hand those among the allies of the Lacedaemonians who had been unfriendly to them had been chastised, it seemed that they had at length established their empire most excellently and securely.

IV. Now one could mention many other incidents, both among Greeks and barbarians, to prove that the gods do not fail to take heed of the wicked or of those who do unrighteous things; but at present I will speak of the case which is before me. The Lacedaemonians, namely, who had sworn that they would leave the states independent, after seizing possession of the Acropolis of Thebes were punished by the very men, unaided, who had been thus wronged, although before that time they had not been conquered by any single one of all the peoples that ever existed; while as for those among the Theban citizens who had led them into the Acropolis and had wanted the state to be in subjection to the Lacedaemonians in order that they might rule despotically themselves, just seven of the exiles were

μόνον τῶν φυγόντων ἤρκεσαν καταλύσαι. ὥς δὲ τοῦτ' ἐγένετο διηγήσομαι.

- 2 Ἦν τις Φιλλίδας, ὃς ἐγραμμάτευε τοῖς περὶ Ἀρχίαν πολεμάρχοις, καὶ τὰλλα ὑπηρέτει, ὥς ἐδόκει, ἄριστα. τούτῳ δ' ἀφιγμένῳ Ἀθήναζε κατὰ πρᾶξιν τινα καὶ πρόσθεν γνώριμος ὦν Μέλων τῶν Ἀθήναζε πεφευγόντων Θηβαίων συγγίγνεται, καὶ διαπυθόμενος μὲν τὰ περὶ Ἀρχίαν τε τὸν πολεμαρχοῦντα καὶ τὴν περὶ Φίλιππον τυραννίδα, γνοὺς δὲ μισοῦντα αὐτὸν ἔτι μᾶλλον αὐτοῦ τὰ οἴκοι, πιστὰ δοὺς καὶ λαβὼν συνέθετο
- 3 ὥς δεῖ ἕκαστα γίνεσθαι. ἐκ δὲ τούτου προσλαβὼν ὁ Μέλων ἕξ τοὺς ἐπιτηδειοτάτους τῶν φυγόντων ξιφίδια ἔχοντας καὶ ἄλλο ὄπλον οὐδέν, ἔρχεται πρῶτον μὲν εἰς τὴν χώραν νυκτός· ἔπειτα δὲ ἡμερεύσαντες ἔν τινι τόπῳ ἐρήμῳ πρὸς τὰς πύλας ἦλθον, ὥς δὴ ἐξ ἀγροῦ ἀπιόντες, ἡνίκα περ οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων ὀψιαίτατοι. ἐπεὶ δ' εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὴν πόλιν, διενυκτέρευσαν μὲν ἐκείνην τὴν νύκτα παρὰ Χάρωνί τινι, καὶ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν δὲ
- 4 ἡμέραν διημέρευσαν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Φιλλίδας τά τε ἄλλα ἐπεμελεῖτο τοῖς πολεμάρχοις, ὥς Ἀφροδίσια ἄγουσιν ἐπ' ἐξόδῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς, καὶ δὴ καὶ γυναῖκας πάλαι ὑπισχνούμενος ἄξειν αὐτοῖς τὰς σεμνοτάτας καὶ καλλίστας τῶν ἐν Θήβαις, τότε ἔφη ἄξειν. οἱ δέ — ἦσαν γὰρ τοιοῦτοι — μάλα

¹ See note on ii. 25. It seems likely that the polemarchs were three in number, although Archias and Philippus

HELLENICA, V. iv. 1-4

enough to destroy the government of these men. 379 B.C.
How all this came to pass I will proceed to relate.

There was a certain Phillidas, who acted as secretary to Archias and his fellow polemarchs¹ and in other ways served them, as it seemed, most excellently. Now this man went to Athens on a matter of business, and there met Melon, one of the Thebans in exile at Athens and a man who had been an acquaintance of his even before this time. Melon, after learning of the doings of the polemarch Archias and the tyrannous rule of Philippos, and finding out that Phillidas hated the conditions that existed at home even more than he himself did, exchanged pledges with him and came to an agreement as to how everything should be managed. After this Melon took with him six of the fittest men among the exiles, armed with daggers and no other weapon, and in the first place proceeded by night into the territory of Thebes; then after spending the day in a deserted spot they came to the city gates, as if on their way back from the country, at just the time when the last returning labourers came in. When they had entered the city, they spent that night at the house of a certain Charon, and likewise spent the following day there. As for Phillidas, since the polemarchs always celebrate a festival of Aphrodite upon the expiration of their term of office, he was making all the arrangements for them, and in particular, having long ago promised to bring them women, and the most stately and beautiful women there were in Thebes, he said he would do so at that time. And they—for they were that sort of men—

(see below) are the only ones whom Xenophon mentions by name.

5 ἡδέως προσεδέχοντο νυκτερεύειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδεί-
 πνησάν τε καὶ συμπροθυμουμένου ἐκείνου ταχὺ
 ἐμεθύσθησαν, πάλαι κελευόντων ἄγειν τὰς ἐταί-
 ρας, ἐξελθὼν ἤγαγε τοὺς περὶ Μέλωνα, τρεῖς μὲν
 στείλας ὡς δεσποίνας, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ὡς θερα-
 6 παίνας. καὶ κείνους μὲν εἰσήγαγεν εἰς τὸ προτα-
 μιεῖον τοῦ πολεμαρχείου, αὐτὸς δ' εἰσελθὼν εἶπε
 τοῖς περὶ Ἀρχίαν ὅτι οὐκ ἂν φασιν εἰσελθεῖν αἱ
 γυναῖκες, εἴ τις τῶν διακόνων ἔνδον ἔσοιτο. ἔνθεν
 οἱ μὲν ταχὺ ἐκέλευον πάντας ἐξιέναι, ὁ δὲ Φιλ-
 λίδας δούς οἶνον εἰς ἑνὸς τῶν διακόνων ἐξέπεμψεν
 αὐτούς. ἐκ δὲ τούτου εἰσήγαγε τὰς ἐταίρας δῆ,
 καὶ ἐκάθιζε παρ' ἐκάστῳ. ἦν δὲ σύνθημα, ἐπεὶ
 7 καθίζουσιν, παίειν εὐθὺς ἀνακαλυψαμένους. οἱ
 μὲν δὴ οὕτω λέγουσιν αὐτοὺς ἀποθανεῖν, οἱ δὲ
 καὶ ὡς κωμαστὰς εἰσελθόντας τοὺς ἀμφὶ Μέλωνα
 ἀποκτείνειν τοὺς πολεμάρχους. λαβὼν δὲ ὁ Φιλ-
 λίδας τρεῖς αὐτῶν ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ Λεον-
 τιάδου οἰκίαν· κόψας δὲ τὴν θύραν εἶπεν ὅτι
 παρὰ τῶν πολεμάρχων ἀπαγγεῖλαί τι βούλοιο.
 ὁ δὲ ἐτύγχανε μὲν χωρὶς κατακείμενος ἔτι μετὰ
 δείπνον, καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἐριουργοῦσα παρεκάθητο.
 ἐκέλευσε δὲ τὸν Φιλλίδαν πιστὸν νομίζων εἰσι-
 εῖναι. οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ εἰσῆλθον, τὸν μὲν ἀποκτείναντες,¹
 τὴν δὲ γυναῖκα φοβήσαντες κατεσιώπησαν. ἐξ-
 ιόντες δὲ εἶπον τὴν θύραν κεκλεισθαι· εἰ δὲ λή-
 ψονται ἀνεωγμένην, ἡπείλησαν ἀποκτείνειν ἅπαν-
 8 τας τοὺς ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπέπρακτο,

¹ ἀποκτείναντες MSS.: ἀπέκτειναν Kel.

expected to spend the night very pleasantly. Now 379 B.C.
 when they had dined and with his zealous help had quickly become drunk, after they had long urged him to bring in their mistresses he went out and brought Melon and his followers, having dressed up three of them as matrons and the others as their attendants. He conducted them all to the anteroom adjoining the treasury of the polemarchs' building, and then came in himself and told Archias and his colleagues that the women said they would not enter if any of the servants were in the room. At that the polemarchs speedily ordered them all to withdraw, while Phillidas gave them wine and sent them off to the house of one of their number. Then he led in the supposed courtesans and seated them one beside each man. And the agreement was, that when they were seated, they should unveil themselves and strike at once. It was in this way, then, as some tell the story, that the polemarchs were killed, while others say that Melon and his followers came in as though they were revellers and killed them. After this Phillidas took three of his men and proceeded to the house of Leontiades and knocking at the door he said that he wished to give him a message from the polemarchs. Now it chanced that Leontiades had dined by himself and was still reclining on his couch after dinner, while his wife sat beside him, working with wool. And believing Phillidas trustworthy he bade him come in. When the party had entered, they killed Leontiades and frightened his wife into silence. And as they went out, they ordered that the door should remain shut; and they threatened that if they found it open, they would kill all who were in the house. When these things had been

- λαβὼν δύο ὁ Φιλλίδας τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἦλθε πρὸς τὸ ἀνάκειον, καὶ εἶπε τῷ εἰργμοφύλακι ὅτι ἄνδρα ἄγοι παρὰ τῶν¹ πολεμάρχων ὃν εἶρξαι δέοι. ὥς δὲ ἀνέωξε, τοῦτον μὲν εὐθὺς ἀπέκτειναν, τοὺς δὲ δεσμώτας ἔλυσαν. καὶ τούτους μὲν ταχὺ τῶν ἐκ τῆς στοᾶς ὀπλων καθελόντες ὥπλισαν, καὶ ἀγαγόντες ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀμφεῖον θέσθαι ἐκέλευον τὰ
- 9 ὄπλα. ἐκ δὲ τούτου εὐθὺς ἐκήρυττον ἐξιέναι πάντας Θηβαίους, ἱππέας τε καὶ ὀπλίτας, ὡς τῶν τυράννων τεθνεώτων. οἱ δὲ πολῖται, ἕως μὲν νύξ ἦν, ἀπιστοῦντες ἡσυχίαν εἶχον· ἐπεὶ δ' ἡμέρα τ' ἦν καὶ φανερόν ἦν τὸ γεγεννημένον, ταχὺ δὴ καὶ οἱ ὀπλίται καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς σὺν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς ἐξεβοήθουν. ἔπεμψαν δ' ἱππέας οἱ κατεληλυθότες καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς πρὸς τοῖς ὀρίοις Ἀθηναίωι δύο τῶν στρατηγῶν. οἱ δ' εἰδότες τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐφ' ὃ ἀπεστάλκεσαν ἐπεβοήθουν.²
- 10 Ὁ μέντοι ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ἀρμοστῆς ἐπεὶ ἤσθετο τὸ νυκτερινὸν κήρυγμα, εὐθὺς ἔπεμψεν εἰς Πλαταιὰς καὶ Θεσπιὰς ἐπὶ βοήθειαν. καὶ τοὺς μὲν Πλαταιᾶς αἰσθόμενοι προσιόντας οἱ τῶν Θηβαίων ἱππεῖς, ἀπαντήσαντες ἀπέκτειναν αὐτῶν πλεον ἢ εἴκοσιν· ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰσῆλθον ταῦτα πράξαντες καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρίων ἤδη παρῆσαν,
- 11 προσέβαλον πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. ὥς δὲ ἔγνωσαν οἱ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ὀλίγοι ὄντες, τὴν τε προθυμίαν τῶν προσιόντων ἀπάντων ἐώρων, καὶ τῶν κηρυ-

¹ Inserted by Kel., following Dindorf.

² Inserted by Kel. The text of the last four lines of this section is probably corrupt.

done, Phillidas took two of the men and went to the prison, and told the keeper of the prison that he was bringing a man from the polemarchs who was to be shut up. And as soon as the keeper opened the door, they immediately killed him and released the prisoners. Then they speedily armed these men with weapons which they took down from the portico, and, leading them to the Ampheum,¹ ordered them to stand under arms. After this they immediately made proclamation to all the Thebans, both horsemen and hoplites, to come forth from their houses, saying that the tyrants were dead. The citizens, however, so long as night lasted, remained quiet out of distrust; but when day came, and what had taken place was evident, then both the hoplites and the horsemen speedily rushed forth with their arms to lend aid. The returned exiles also sent horsemen to fetch the troops of the Athenians who were on the borders under two of the generals. And the latter, knowing the purpose for which they had sent out the horsemen, came to their aid.

Now when the Lacedaemonian governor in the Acropolis heard the proclamation of the night, he at once sent to Plataea and Thespieae for help. And the Theban horsemen, upon perceiving that the Plataeans were approaching, went out to meet them and killed more than twenty of them; then as soon as they had re-entered the city after this achievement, and the Athenians from the borders had arrived, they made an attack upon the Acropolis. Now when those in the Acropolis realized that they were few in number, and saw the spirit of all who were coming against

¹ The shrine of the Theban hero Amphion.

- γμάτων μεγάλων γιγνομένων τοῖς πρώτοις ἀνα-
 βᾶσιν, ἐκ τούτων φοβηθέντες εἶπον ὅτι ἀπίοιεν
 ἄν, εἰ σφίσιν ἀσφάλειαν μετὰ τῶν ὄπλων ἀπιούσι
 διδοῖεν. οἱ δὲ ἄσμενοί τε ἔδοσαν ἃ ἤτουν, καὶ
 σπείσάμενοι καὶ ὄρκους ὁμόσαντες ἐπὶ τούτοις
 12 ἐξέπεμπον. ἐξιόντων μέντοι, ὅσους ἐπέγνωσαν
 τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὄντας, συλλαμβάνοντες ἀπέκτειναν.
 ἦσαν δέ τινες οἳ καὶ ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν
 ὀρίων ἐπιβοηθησάντων ἐξεκλάπησαν καὶ διεσώ-
 θησαν. οἱ μέντοι Θηβαῖοι καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τῶν
 ἀποθανόντων, ὅσοις ἦσαν, λαβόντες ἀπέσφαξαν.
- 13 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπύθοντο οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι,
 τὸν μὲν ἀρμοστήν τὸν ἐγκαταλιπόντα τὴν ἀκρό-
 πολιν καὶ οὐκ ἀναμείναντα τὴν βοήθειαν ἀπέ-
 κτειναν, φρουρὰν δὲ φαίνουσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους.
 καὶ Ἀγησίλαος μὲν λέγων ὅτι ὑπὲρ τετταρά-
 κοντα ἀφ' ἧβης εἶη, καὶ ὥσπερ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς
 τηλικούτοις οὐκέτι ἀνάγκη εἶη τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἑξω
 στρατεύεσθαι, οὕτω δὲ καὶ βασιλεῦσι τὸν αὐτὸν
 νόμον ὄντα ἀπεδείκνυε. κακείνος μὲν δὲ λέγων
 ταῦτα οὐκ ἐστρατεύετο. οὐ μέντοι τούτου γ'
 ἔνεκεν κατέμεινε, ἀλλ' εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι εἰ στρατη-
 γοίη, λέξοιεν οἱ πολῖται ὡς Ἀγησίλαος, ὅπως
 βοηθήσειε τοῖς τυράννοις, πράγματα τῇ πόλει
 παρέχοι. εἶα οὖν αὐτοὺς βουλευέσθαι ὁποῖόν τι
 14 βούλονται περὶ τούτων. οἱ δ' ἔφοροι διδασκόμενοι
 ὑπὸ τῶν μετὰ τὰς ἐν Θήβαις σφαγὰς ἐκπεπτω-
 κότων, Κλεόμβροτον ἐκπέμπουσι, πρῶτον τότε

them,—for there were also offers of large prizes to those who should first ascend the Acropolis—being frightened in consequence of these things, they said that they would withdraw if the Thebans would allow them to do so in safety, keeping their arms. And the Thebans gladly granted what they asked, and after making a truce and giving their oaths let them go forth on these terms. As they were on their way out, however, the citizens seized and killed all whom they recognized as belonging to the number of their political foes. There were some, indeed, who were spirited away and saved by the Athenians who had come from the borders with their supporting force. But the Thebans even seized the children of those who had been killed, whenever they had children, and slaughtered them.

When the Lacedaemonians learned of these events, they put to death the governor who had abandoned the Acropolis instead of waiting for the relief force, and called out the ban against the Thebans. Now Agesilaus said that it was more than forty years since he had come of military age, and pointed out that just as other men of his age were no longer bound to serve outside their own country, so the same law applied to kings also. He, then, on this plea would not undertake the campaign. It was not, however, for this reason that he stayed at home, but because he well knew that if he was in command the citizens would say that Agesilaus was making trouble for the state in order that he might give assistance to tyrants. Therefore he let them decide as they would about this matter. But the ephors, hearing the stories of those who had been banished after the slaughter in Thebes, sent out Cleombrotus,¹—this being the first time that

¹ Successor of Agesipolis.

- ἡγούμενον, μάλα χειμῶνος ὄντος. τὴν μὲν οὖν δι' Ἐλευθερῶν ὁδὸν Χαβρίας ἔχων Ἀθηναίων πελταστὰς ἐφύλαττεν· ὁ δὲ Κλεόμβροτος ἀνέβαινε κατὰ τὴν εἰς Πλαταιὰς φέρουσαν. προΐόντες δὲ οἱ πελτασταὶ περιτυγχάνουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ ἄκρῳ φυλάττουσι τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ ἀνακείου λελυμένοις, ὥς περὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα οὔσι. καὶ τούτους μὲν ἅπαντας, εἰ μὴ τις ἐξέφυγεν, οἱ πελτασταὶ ἀπέκτειναν· αὐτὸς δὲ κατέβαινε πρὸς τὰς Πλα-
15 ταιάς, ἔτι φιλίας οὔσας. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς Θεσπιάς ἀφίκετο, ἐκεῖθεν ὁρμηθεὶς εἰς Κυνὸς κεφαλὰς οὔσας Θηβαίων ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο. μείνας δὲ ἐκεῖ περὶ ἑκαίδεκα ἡμέρας ἀπεχώρησε πάλιν εἰς Θεσπιάς· καὶ ἐκεῖ μὲν ἀρμοστήν κατέλιπε Σφοδρίαν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων τὸ τρίτον μέρος ἐκάστων· παρέδωκε δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ χρήματα ὅσα ἐτύγχανεν οἴκοθεν ἔχων, καὶ ἐκέλευσε ξενικὸν προσμισθοῦ-
16 σθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν Σφοδρίας ταῦτ' ἔπραττεν. ὁ δὲ Κλεόμβροτος ἀπῆγεν ἐπ' οἴκου τὴν διὰ Κρεύσιος τοὺς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ στρατιώτας καὶ μάλα ἀποροῦντας πότερά ποτε πόλεμος πρὸς Θηβαίους ἢ εἰρήνη εἴη· ἥγαγε μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὴν τῶν Θηβαίων τὸ στράτευμα, ἀπῆλθε δὲ ὥς ἐδύνατο ἐλάχιστα
17 κακουργήσας. ἀπιόντι γε μὴν ἄνεμος αὐτῷ ἐξαίσιος ἐπεγένετο, ὃν καὶ οἰωνίζοντό τινες σημαίνειν πρὸ τῶν μελλόντων. πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλα βίαια ἐποίησεν, ἀτὰρ καὶ ὑπερβάλλοντος αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐκ τῆς Κρεύσιος τὸ καθῆκον

he had a command,—in the dead of winter. Now 879 B.C.
the road which leads through Eleutherae was guarded by Chabrias with peltasts of the Athenians; but Cleombrotus climbed the mountain¹ by the road leading to Plataea. And at the summit of the pass his peltasts, who were leading the advance, found the men who had been released from the prison, about one hundred and fifty in number, on guard. And the peltasts killed them all, except for one or another who may have escaped; whereupon Cleombrotus descended to Plataea, which was still friendly. Then after he had arrived at Thespieae, he went on from there to Cynoscephalae, which belonged to the Thebans, and encamped. But after remaining there about sixteen days he retired again to Thespieae. There he left Sphodrias as governor and a third part of each contingent of the allies; he also gave over to Sphodrias all the money which he chanced to have brought from home and directed him to hire a force of mercenaries besides. Sphodrias, then, set about doing this. Meanwhile Cleombrotus proceeded to conduct the soldiers under his command back homeward by the road which leads through Creusis, the troops being vastly puzzled to know whether there was really war between them and the Thebans, or peace; for he had led his army into the country of the Thebans and then departed after doing just as little damage as he could. While he was on the homeward way, however, an extraordinary wind beset him, which some indeed augured was a sign foreshadowing what was going to happen.² For it not only did many other violent things, but when he had left Creusis with his army and was crossing the

¹ Mt. Cithaeron. ² *cp.* vi. iv. 2-15.

- ἐπὶ θάλατταν ὄρος πολλοὺς μὲν ὄνους κατε-
κρήμνισεν αὐτοῖς σκεύεσι, πάμπολλα δὲ ὄπλα
18 ἀφαρπασθέντα ἐξέπεσεν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν. τέλος
δὲ πολλοὶ οὐ δυνάμενοι σὺν τοῖς ὄπλοις πορεύ-
εσθαι, ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν τοῦ ἄκρου κατέλιπον λίθων
ἐμπλήσαντες ὑπτίας τὰς ἀσπίδας. καὶ τότε μὲν
τῆς Μεγαρικῆς ἐν Αἰγιοσθένεσι ἐδείπνησαν ὥς
ἐδύναντο· τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἐλθόντες ἐκομίσαντο
τὰ ὄπλα. καὶ ἐκ τούτου οἴκαδε ἤδη ἕκαστοι
ἀπῆσαν. ἀφῆκε γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὁ Κλεόμβροτος.
- 19 Οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι ὀρώντες τὴν τῶν Λακε-
δαιμονίων ῥώμην καὶ ὅτι πόλεμος ἐν Κορίνθῳ
οὐκέτι ἦν, ἀλλ' ἤδη παριόντες τὴν Ἀττικὴν οἱ
Λακεδαιμόνιοι εἰς τὰς Θήβας ἐνέβαλλον, οὕτως
ἐφοβοῦντο ὥστε καὶ τῶ δύο στρατηγῶ, οἱ συνη-
πιστάσθην τὴν τοῦ Μέλωνος ἐπὶ τοὺς περὶ
Λεοντιάδην ἐπανάστασιν, κρίναντες τὸν μὲν ἀπέ-
κτεῖναν, τὸν δ' ἐπεὶ οὐχ ὑπέμεινεν, ἐφυγάδευσαν.
- 20 Οἱ δ' αὖ Θηβαῖοι καὶ αὐτοὶ φοβούμενοι, εἰ
μηδένες ἄλλοι ἢ αὐτοὶ πολεμήσοιεν τοῖς Λακεδαι-
μονίοις, τοιόνδε εὐρίσκουσι μηχανήματα. πείθουσι
τὸν ἐν ταῖς Θεσπιαῖς ἀρμοστήν Σφοδρίαν, χρή-
ματα δόντες, ὥς ὑπωπτεύετο, ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν
Ἀττικὴν, ἵν' ἐκπολεμώσῃε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους πρὸς
τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. καὶ ἐκεῖνος πειθόμενος αὐ-
τοῖς, προσποιησάμενος τὸν Πειραιᾶ καταλήψε-
σθαι, ὅτι δὴ ἀπύλωτος ἦν, ἤγεν ἐκ τῶν Θεσπιῶν
πρῶ δειπνήσαντας τοὺς στρατιώτας, φάσκων πρὸ

mountain ridge which runs down to the sea, it 870 B.C.
hurled down the precipice great numbers of pack-
asses, baggage and all, while very many shields were
snatched away from the soldiers and fell into the
sea. Finally many of the men, unable to proceed
with all their arms, left their shields behind here
and there on the summit of the ridge, putting them
down on their backs and filling them with stones.
On that day, then, they took dinner as best they
could at Aegosthena in the territory of Megara; and
on the following day they went back and recovered
their shields. After this all returned at once to their
several homes; for Cleombrotus dismissed them.

Now the Athenians, seeing the power of the Lacedaemonians and that the war was no longer in Corinthian territory, but that the Lacedaemonians were now going past Attica and invading the country of Thebes, were so fearful that they brought to trial the two generals who had been privy to the uprising of Melon against Leontiades and his party, put one of them to death, and, since the other did not remain to stand trial, exiled him.

The Thebans, for their part, being also fearful in 878 B.C.
case no others except themselves should make war
upon the Lacedaemonians, devised the following
expedient. They persuaded Sphodrias, the Lacedaemonian governor at Thespieae,—by giving him money, it was suspected,—to invade Attica, that so he might involve the Athenians in war with the Lacedaemonians. And he in obedience to their persuasions, professing that he would capture Piraeus, inasmuch as it still had no gates,¹ led forth his troops from Thespieae after they had taken an early dinner, saying

¹ *cp.* IV. viii. 9, 10.

- 21 ἡμέρας καθανύσειν εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ. Θριᾶσι δ' αὐτῷ ἡμέρα ἐπεγένετο, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐνταῦθ' ἐποίησεν ὥστε λαθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἰπετράπετο, βοσκήματα διήρπασε καὶ οἰκίας ἐπόρθησε. τῶν δ' ἐντυχόντων τινὲς τῆς νυκτὸς φεύγοντες εἰς τὸ ἄστυ ἀπήγγελλον τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ὅτι στράτευμα πάμπλου προσίοι. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταχὺ ὀπλισάμενοι καὶ ἱππεῖς καὶ ὀπλίται ἐν φυλακῇ τῆς πόλεως ἦσαν.
- 22 τῶν δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ πρέσβεις ἐτύγχανον Ἀθήνησιν ὄντες παρὰ Καλλιᾶ τῷ προξένῳ Ἐτυμοκλῆς τε καὶ Ἀριστόλοχος καὶ Ὀκυλλος· οὗς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐπεὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἠγγέλθη, συλλαβόντες ἐφύλαττον, ὥς καὶ τούτους συνεπιβουλεύοντας. οἱ δὲ ἐκπεπληγμένοι τε ἦσαν τῷ πράγματι καὶ ἀπελογοῦντο ὥς οὐκ ἂν ποτε οὕτω μῶροι ἦσαν ὥς εἰ ἤδεσαν καταλαμβανόμενον τὸν Πειραιᾶ, ἐν τῷ ἄστει ἂν ὑποχειρίους αὐτοὺς παρεῖχον, καὶ ταῦτα παρὰ τῷ προξένῳ, οὗ τάχιστ' ἂν
- 23 ἠύρέθησαν. ἔτι δ' ἔλεγον ὥς εὐδηλον καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἔσοιτο ὅτι οὐδ' ἡ πόλις τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ταῦτα συνήδει. Σφοδρίαν γὰρ εὖ εἰδέναι ἔφασαν ὅτι ἀπολωλότα πεύσοιντο ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως. καὶ κεῖνοι μὲν κριθέντες μηδὲν συνειδέναι
- 24 ἀφείθησαν. οἱ δ' ἔφοροι ἀνεκάλεσάν τε τὸν Σφοδρίαν καὶ ὑπῆγον θανάτου. ἐκεῖνος μέντοι φοβούμενος οὐχ ὑπήκουσεν· ὅμως δὲ καίπερ οὐχ

that he would finish the journey to Piraeus before daybreak. But he was still at Thria when daylight came upon him, and then he made no effort to escape observation, but on the contrary, when he had turned about, seized cattle and plundered houses. Meanwhile some of those who fell in with him during the night fled to the city and reported to the Athenians that a very large army was coming against them. So they speedily armed themselves, both horsemen and hoplites, and kept guard over the city. Now it chanced also that there were ambassadors of the Lacedaemonians in Athens at the house of Callias, their diplomatic agent,—Etymocles, Aristolochus, and Ocyllus; and when the matter of the invasion was reported, the Athenians seized these men and kept them under guard, in the belief that they too were concerned in the plot. But they were utterly dismayed over the affair and said in their defence that if they had known that an attempt was being made to seize Piraeus, they would never have been so foolish as to put themselves in the power of the Athenians in the city, and, still less, at the house of their diplomatic agent, where they would most speedily be found. They said, further, that it would become clear to the Athenians also that the Lacedaemonian state was not cognizant of this attempt, either. For as to Sphodrias, they said they well knew that they would hear that he had been put to death by the state. They accordingly were adjudged to be without any knowledge of the affair and were released. But the ephors recalled Sphodrias and brought capital charges against him. He, however, out of fear did not obey the summons; but nevertheless, although he did not obey and

378 B.C.

ὑπακούων εἰς τὴν κρίσιν ἀπέφυγε. καὶ πολλοῖς ἔδοξεν αὕτη δὴ ἀδικώτατα ἐν Λακεδαίμονι ἢ δίκη κριθῆναι. ἐγένετο δὲ τοῦτο τὸ αἴτιον.

- 25 Ἦν υἱὸς τῷ Σφοδρίᾳ Κλεώνυμος ἡλικίαν τε ἔχων τὴν ἄρτι ἐκ παίδων, καὶ ἄμα κάλλιστός τε καὶ εὐδοκιμώτατος τῶν ἡλίκων. τούτου δὲ ἐρῶν ἐτύγχανεν Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ Ἀγησιλάου. οἱ μὲν οὖν τοῦ Κλεομβρότου φίλοι, ἅτε ἐταῖροι ὄντες τῷ Σφοδρίᾳ, ἀπολυτικῶς αὐτοῦ εἶχον, τὸν δέ γε Ἀγησίλαον καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνου φίλους ἐφοβοῦντο, καὶ τοὺς διὰ μέσου δέ· δεινὰ γὰρ ἐδόκει πεποιη-
- 26 κέναι. ἐκ τούτου δὲ ὁ μὲν Σφοδρίας εἶπε πρὸς τὸν Κλεώνυμον· Ἐξεστὶ σοι, ὦ υἱέ, σῶσαι τὸν πατέρα, δεηθέντι Ἀρχιδάμου εὐμενῇ Ἀγησίλαον ἐμοὶ εἰς τὴν κρίσιν παρασχεῖν. ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας ἐτόλμησεν ἐλθεῖν πρὸς τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον, καὶ ἐδεῖτο
- 27 σωτῆρα αὐτῷ τοῦ πατρὸς γενέσθαι. ὁ μέντοι Ἀρχίδαμος ἰδὼν μὲν τὸν Κλεώνυμον κλαίοντα συνεδάκρυε παρεστηκώς· ἀκούσας δὲ δεομένου, ἀπεκρίνατο· Ἀλλ', ὦ Κλεώνυμε, ἴσθι μὲν ὅτι ἐγὼ τῷ ἐμῷ πατρὶ οὐδ' ἀντιβλέπειν δύναμαι, ἀλλὰ κἂν τι βούλωμαι διαπράξασθαι ἐν τῇ πόλει, πάντων μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ πατρὸς δέομαι· ὁμῶς δ' ἐπεὶ σὺ κελεύεις, νόμιζε πᾶσάν με προ-
- 28 θυμίαν ἔξειν ταῦτά σοιπραχθῆναι. καὶ τότε μὲν δὴ ἐκ τοῦ φιλιτίου εἰς τὸν οἶκον ἐλθὼν ἀνεπαύετο· τοῦ δ' ὄρθρου ἀναστὰς ἐφύλαττε μὴ λάθῃ αὐτὸν ὁ πατὴρ ἐξελθών. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδεν αὐτὸν ἐξιόντα, πρῶτον μὲν, εἴ τις τῶν πολιτῶν

present himself for the trial, he was acquitted. And 878 B.C. it seemed to many that the decision in this case was the most unjust ever known in Lacedaemon. The reason for it was as follows.

Sphodrias had a son Cleonymus, who was at the age just following boyhood and was, besides, the handsomest and most highly regarded of all the youths of his years. And Archidamus, the son of Agesilaus, chanced to be extremely fond of him. Now the friends of Cleombrotus were political associates of Sphodrias, and were therefore inclined to acquit him, but they feared Agesilaus and his friends, and likewise those who stood between the two parties ; for it seemed that he had done a dreadful deed. Therefore Sphodrias said to Cleonymus : " It is within your power, my son, to save your father by begging Archidamus to make Agesilaus favourable to me at my trial." Upon hearing this Cleonymus gathered courage to go to Archidamus and begged him for his sake to become the saviour of his father. Now when Archidamus saw Cleonymus weeping, he wept with him as he stood by his side ; and when he heard his request, he replied : " Cleonymus, be assured that I cannot even look my father in the face, but if I wish to accomplish some object in the state, I petition everyone else rather than my father ; yet nevertheless, since you so bid me, believe that I will use every effort to accomplish this for you." At that time, accordingly, he went from the public mess-room to his home and retired to rest ; then he arose at dawn and kept watch, so that his father should not leave the house without his notice. But when he saw him going out, in the first place, if anyone among the citizens was present, he gave way to allow them to

παρῆν, παρίει τούτους διαλέγεσθαι αὐτῷ, ἔπειτα δ', εἴ τις ξένος, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τῶν θεραπόντων τῷ δεομένῳ παρεχάρε. τέλος δ', ἐπεὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Εὐρώτα ἀπιὼν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος εἰσῆλθεν οἴκαδε, ἀπιὼν ὥχετο οὐδὲ προσελθόν. καὶ τῇ ὑστεραία
 29 δὲ ταῦτα ταῦτα ἐποίησεν. ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος ὑπώπτευε μὲν ὧν ἔνεκεν ἐφοίτα, οὐδὲν μέντοι ἡρώτα, ἀλλ' εἶα αὐτόν. ὁ δ' αὖ Ἀρχίδαμος ἐπεθύμει μὲν, ὥσπερ εἰκός, ὁρᾶν τὸν Κλεώνυμον· ὅπως μέντοι ἔλθοι πρὸς αὐτόν μὴ διειλεγμένος τῷ πατρὶ περὶ ὧν ἐκεῖνος ἐδεήθη οὐκ εἶχεν. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Σφοδρίαν οὐχ ὁρῶντες τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον ἰόντα, πρόσθεν δὲ θαμίζοντα, ἐν παντὶ ἦσαν μὴ λελοι-
 30 δορημένος ὑπὸ Ἀγησιλάου εἶη. τέλος μέντοι ὁ Ἀρχίδαμος ἐτόλμησε προσελθεῖν καὶ εἰπεῖν· ὦ πάτερ, Κλεώνυμός με κελεύει σου δεηθῆναι σώ-
 σαί οἱ τὸν πατέρα· καὶ ἐγὼ ταῦτά σου δέομαι, εἰ δυνατόν. ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο· Ἀλλὰ σοὶ μὲν ἔγωγε συγγνώμην ἔχω· αὐτὸς μέντοι ὅπως ἂν συγγνώ-
 μης τύχοιμι παρὰ τῆς πόλεως ἄνδρα μὴ καταγι-
 31 γνώσκων ἀδικεῖν οἷς ἐχρηματίσατο ἐπὶ κακῷ τῆς πόλεως οὐχ ὁρῶ. ὁ δὲ τότε μὲν πρὸς ταῦτα οὐδὲν εἶπεν, ἀλλ' ἡττηθεὶς τοῦ δικαίου ἀπῆλθεν. ὕστερον δὲ ἢ αὐτὸς νοήσας ἢ διδαχθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ εἶπεν ἐλθόν. Ἀλλ' ὅτι μὲν, ὦ πάτερ, εἰ μὴδὲν ἡδίκηκε Σφοδρίας, ἀπέλυσας ἂν αὐτὸν οἶδα· νῦν δέ,

¹ The general gathering place of the Spartans was on the banks of the Eurotas.

converse with Agesilaus, and again, if it was a stranger, he did the same, and again he even made way for any one of his attendants who wished to address him. Finally, when Agesilaus came back from the Eurotas¹ and entered his house, Archidamus went away without even having approached him. On the next day also he acted in the very same way. And Agesilaus, while he suspected for what reason he kept going to and fro with him, nevertheless asked no question, but let him alone. But Archidamus, on the other hand, was eager, naturally enough, to see Cleonymus; still, he did not know how he could go to him without first having talked with his father about the request that Cleonymus had made. And the partisans of Sphodrias, since they did not see Archidamus coming to visit Cleonymus, whereas formerly he had come often, were in the utmost anxiety, fearing that he had been rebuked by Agesilaus. Finally, however, Archidamus gathered courage to approach Agesilaus and say: "Father, Cleonymus bids me request you to save his father; and I make the same request of you, if it is possible." And Agesilaus answered: "For yourself, I grant you pardon; but how I could obtain my own pardon from the state if I failed to pronounce guilty of wrong-doing a man who made traffic for himself to the hurt of the state, I do not see." Now at the time Archidamus said nothing in reply to these words, but yielding to the justice of them, went away. Afterwards, however, whether because he had conceived the idea himself or because it had been suggested to him by some one else, he went to Agesilaus and said: "Father, I know that if Sphodrias had done no wrong, you would have acquitted him; but as it is,

- εἰ ἡδίκηκέ τι, ἡμῶν ἔνεκεν συγγνώμης ὑπὸ σοῦ
 τυχέτω. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· Οὐκοῦν ἂν μέλλῃ καλὰ
 ταῦθ' ἡμῖν εἶναι, οὕτως ἔσται. ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ'
 32 ἀκούσας μάλα δύσελπις ὦν ἀπήει. τῶν δὲ τοῦ
 Σφοδρία φίλων τις διαλεγόμενος Ἐτυμοκλεῖ
 εἶπεν· Ὑμεῖς μὲν, οἶμαι, ἔφη, πάντες οἱ Ἀγη-
 σιλάου φίλοι ἀποκτενεῖτε τὸν Σφοδρίαν. καὶ ὁ
 Ἐτυμοκλῆς· Μὰ Δία οὐκ ἄρα ταῦτ', ἔφη, ποιή-
 σομεν Ἀγησιλάῳ, ἐπεὶ ἐκεῖνός γε πρὸς πάντας
 ὅσοις διείλεκται ταῦτὰ λέγει, μὴ ἀδικεῖν μὲν Σφο-
 δρίαν ἀδύνατον εἶναι· ὅστις μέντοι παῖς τε ὦν καὶ
 παιδίσκος καὶ ἡβῶν πάντα τὰ καλὰ ποιῶν διετέ-
 λεσε, χαλεπὸν εἶναι τοιοῦτον ἄνδρα ἀποκτινύναι·
 τὴν γὰρ Σπάρτην τοιούτων δεῖσθαι στρατιωτῶν.
 33 ὁ οὖν ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἀπήγγειλε τῷ Κλεωνύμῳ.
 ὁ δ' ἤσθεις, εὐθύς ἐλθὼν πρὸς τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον
 εἶπεν· Ὅτι μὲν ἡμῶν ἐπιμελῇ ἤδη ἴσμεν· εὖ δ'
 ἐπίστω, Ἀρχίδαμε, ὅτι καὶ ἡμεῖς πειρασόμεθα
 ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ὥς μήποτε σὺ ἐπὶ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ φιλίᾳ
 αἰσχυρῇς. καὶ οὐκ ἐψεύσατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ζῶν
 ἅπαντ' ἐποίει ὅσα καλὰ ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ, καὶ ἐν
 Λεύκτροις πρὸ τοῦ βασιλέως μαχόμενος σὺν
 Δείνωνι τῷ πολεμάρχῳ τρεῖς πεσὼν πρῶτος τῶν
 πολιτῶν ἐν μέσοις τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπέθανε. καὶ
 ἠνίασε μὲν εἰς τὰ ἔσχατα τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον,
 ὥς δ' ὑπέσχετο, οὐ κατήσχυεν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον
 ἐκόσμησε. τοιούτῳ μὲν δὴ τρόπῳ Σφοδρίας
 ἀπέφυγε.

if he has done something wrong, let him for our sakes 370 B.C. obtain pardon at your hands." And Agesilaus said: "Well, if this should be honourable for us, it shall be so." Upon hearing these words Archidamus went away in great despondency. Now one of the friends of Sphodrias in conversation with Etymocles, said to him: "I suppose," said he, "that you, the friends of Agesilaus, are all for putting Sphodrias to death." And Etymocles replied: "By Zeus, then we shall not be following the same course as Agesilaus, for he says to all with whom he has conversed the same thing,—that it is impossible that Sphodrias is not guilty of wrong-doing; but that when, as child, boy, and young man, one has continually performed all the duties of a Spartan, it is a hard thing to put such a man to death; for Sparta has need of such soldiers." The man, then, upon hearing this, reported it to Cleonymus. And he, filled with joy, went at once to Archidamus and said: "We know now that you have a care for us; and be well assured, Archidamus, that we in our turn shall strive to take care that you may never have cause to be ashamed on account of our friendship." And he did not prove false to his words, for not only did he act in all ways as it is deemed honourable for a citizen of Sparta to act while he lived, but at Leuctra,¹ fighting in defence of his king with Deinon the polemarch, he fell three times and was the first of the citizens to lose his life in the midst of the enemy. And while his death caused extreme grief to Archidamus, still, as he promised, he did not bring shame upon him, but rather honour. It was in this way, then, that Sphodrias was acquitted.

¹ Seven years later; *cp.* VI. iv. 14.

- 34 Τῶν μεντοι Ἀθηναίων οἱ βοιωτιάζοντες ἐδίδασκον τὸν δῆμον ὥς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐχ ὅπως τιμωρήσαιντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπαινέσειαν τὸν Σφοδρίαν, ὅτι ἐπεβούλευσε ταῖς Ἀθήναις. καὶ ἐκ τούτου οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπύλωσάν τε τὸν Πειραιᾶ, ναῦς τε ἐναυπηγοῦντο, τοῖς τε Βοιωτοῖς πάσῃ
- 35 προθυμίᾳ ἐβοήθουν. οἱ δ' αὖ Λακεδαιμόνιοι φρουράν τε ἔφηναν ἐπὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους, καὶ τὸν Ἀγησίλαον νομίσαντες φρονιμώτερον ἂν σφίσι τοῦ Κλεομβρότου ἡγεῖσθαι, ἐδέοντο αὐτοῦ ἄγειν τὴν στρατιάν. ὁ δὲ εἰπὼν ὅτι οὐδὲν ἂν ὅ τι τῇ πόλει δοκοίῃ ἀντειπεῖν¹ παρεσκευάζετο εἰς
- 36 τὴν ἔξοδον. γινώσκων δ' ὅτι εἰ μὴ τις προκαταλήψοιτο τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα, οὐ ῥάδιον ἔσται εἰς τὰς Θήβας ἐμβαλεῖν, μαθὼν πολεμοῦντας τοὺς Κλητορίους τοῖς Ὀρχομενίοις καὶ ξενικὸν τρέφοντας, ἐκοινολογήσατο αὐτοῖς, ὅπως γένοιτο²
- 37 τὸ ξενικὸν αὐτῷ, εἴ τι δεηθείῃ. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ διαβατήρια ἐγένετο, πέμψας, πρὶν ἐν Τεγέᾳ αὐτὸς εἶναι, πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα τῶν παρὰ τοῖς Κλητορίοις ξένων, καὶ μισθὸν δούς μηνός, ἐκέλευε προκαταλαβεῖν αὐτοὺς τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα. τοῖς δ' Ὀρχομενίοις εἶπεν, ἕως στρατεία εἴη, παύσασθαι τοῦ πολέμου· εἰ δέ τις πόλις στρατιᾶς οὔσης ἔξω ἐπὶ πόλιν στρατεύσοι, ἐπὶ ταύτην ἔφη πρῶτον ἰέναι κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τῶν συμμάχων.
- 38 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑπερέβαλε τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα, ἐλθὼν

¹ ἀντειπεῖν MSS.: Kel. prefixes ἔχει.

² γένοιτο MSS.: προσγένειτο Kel.

As for the Athenians, those among them who 878 B.C. favoured the Boeotians pointed out to the people that the Lacedaemonians had not only not punished Sphodrias, but even commended him, for plotting against Athens. Therefore the Athenians furnished Piraeus with gates, set about building ships, and gave aid to the Boeotians with all zeal. The Lacedaemonians on their side called out the ban against the Thebans, and believing that Agesilaus would lead them with more judgment than Cleombrotus, requested him to act as commander of the army. And he, saying that he would offer no objection to whatever the state thought best, made his preparations for the campaign. Now he knew that unless one first gained possession of Mount Cithaeron, it would not be easy to effect an entrance into the country of Thebes; he therefore, upon learning that the Cletorians were at war with the Orchomenians and were maintaining a force of mercenaries, came to an agreement with them that their mercenary force should be turned over to him if he had any need of it. And when his sacrifices at the frontier had proved favourable, before he had himself reached Tegea he sent to the commander of the mercenaries at Cletor, gave them pay for a month, and ordered them to occupy Cithaeron in advance. Meanwhile he directed the Orchomenians to cease from war so long as his campaign lasted; indeed, if any state undertook an expedition against any other while his army was in the field, he said that his first act would be to go against that state, in accordance with the resolution of the allies.

After Agesilaus had crossed Cithaeron and had

εἰς Θεσπιάς ἐκεῖθεν ὀρμηθεὶς ἦει ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν
 Θεβαίων χώραν. εὐρὼν δὲ ἀποτεταφρευμένον
 τε καὶ ἀπεσταυρωμένον κύκλῳ τὸ πεδίον καὶ
 τὰ πλείστου ἄξια τῆς χώρας, στρατοπεδεύο-
 μενος ἄλλοτ' ἄλλη καὶ μετ' ἄριστον ἐξάγων
 ἐδῆου τῆς χώρας τὰ πρὸς ἑαυτοῦ τῶν σταυρω-
 μάτων καὶ τῆς τάφρου. οἱ γὰρ πολέμιοι, ὅπου
 ἐπιφαίνοντο ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, ἀντιπαρήσαν αὐτῷ
 39 ἐντὸς τοῦ χαρακώματος ὡς ἀμυνόμενοι. καί
 ποτε ἀποχωροῦντος αὐτοῦ ἤδη τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ
 στρατόπεδον, οἱ τῶν Θεβαίων ἱππεῖς τέως ἀφα-
 νεῖς ὄντες ἐξαίφνης διὰ τῶν ὠδοποιημένων τοῦ
 χαρακώματος ἐξόδων ἐξελαύνουσι, καὶ οἷα δὴ
 ἀπιόντων πρὸς δεῖπνον καὶ συσκευαζομένων τῶν
 πελταστῶν, τῶν δ' ἱππέων τῶν μὲν ἔτι κατα-
 βεβηκότων, τῶν δ' ἀναβαινόντων, ἐπελαύνουσι·
 καὶ τῶν τε πελταστῶν συχνοὺς κατέβαλον καὶ
 τῶν ἱππέων Κλέαν καὶ Ἐπικυδίδαν Σπαρτιάτας,
 καὶ τῶν περιοίκων ἕνα, Εὐδικον, καὶ τῶν Θεβαίων
 τινὰς φυγάδας, οὐπω ἀναβεβηκότας ἐπὶ τοὺς
 40 ἵππους. ὡς δὲ ἀναστρέψας σὺν τοῖς ὀπλίταις
 ἐβοήθησεν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, οἳ τε ἱππεῖς ἤλαυνον
 ἐναντίον τοῖς ἱππεῦσι καὶ τὰ δέκα ἀφ' ἧβης ἐκ
 τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἔθει σὺν αὐτοῖς. οἱ μέντοι τῶν
 Θεβαίων ἱππεῖς ἐώκεσαν ὑποπεπωκόσι πού ἐν
 μεσημβρίᾳ· ὑπέμενον μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ἐπελαύνουσιν
 ὥστ' ἐξακοντίζειν τὰ δόρατα, ἐξικνούντο δ' οὐ.
 ἀναστρέφοντες δὲ ἐκ τοσούτου ἀπέθανον αὐτῶν

arrived at Thespiæ, he made that his base of operations and proceeded against the country of the Thebans. When he found, however, that the plain and the most valuable portions of their territory had been surrounded by a protecting trench and stockade, he encamped now here and now there, and, leading forth his army after breakfast, laid waste those parts of the country which were on his side of the stockade and trench. For wherever Agesilaus appeared, the enemy moved along within the stockade and kept in his front, for the purpose of offering resistance. And once, when he was already withdrawing in the direction of his camp, the cavalry of the Thebans, up to that moment invisible, suddenly dashed out through the exits which had been made in the stockade, and inasmuch as the peltasts of Agesilaus were going away to dinner or were making their preparations for doing so, while the horsemen were some of them still dismounted and others in the act of mounting, the Thebans charged upon them; and they not only struck down a large number of the peltasts, but among the horsemen Cleas and Epicydidas, who were Spartiatae, one of the Perioeci, Eudicus, and some Theban exiles, such as had not yet mounted their horses. But when Agesilaus turned about and came to the rescue with the hoplites, his horsemen charged against the enemy's horsemen and the first ten year-classes of the hoplites ran along with them to the attack. The Theban horsemen, however, acted like men who had drunk a little at midday; for although they awaited the oncoming enemy in order to throw their spears, they threw before they were within range. Still, though they turned about at so great a distance, twelve of them were killed. But

- 41 δώδεκα. ὥς δὲ κατέγνω ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ὅτι αἰέ μετ' ἄριστον καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι ἐφαίνοντο, θυσάμενος ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἤγεν ὥς οἶόν τε τάχιστα, καὶ παρήλθε δι' ἐρημίας ἔσω τῶν χαρακωμάτων. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τὰ ἐντὸς ἔτεμνε καὶ ἔκαε μέχρι τοῦ ἄστεως. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας καὶ πάλιν ἀποχωρήσας εἰς Θεσπιάς, ἐτείχισε τὸ ἄστυ αὐτοῖς. καὶ ἐκεῖ μὲν Φοιβίδα κατέλιπεν ἄρμωστήν, αὐτὸς δ' ὑπερβαλὼν πάλιν εἰς τὰ Μέγαρα τοὺς μὲν συμμάχους διῆκε, τὸ δὲ πολιτικὸν στράτευμα ἐπ' οἴκου ἀπήγαγεν.
- 42 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ὁ Φοιβίδας ἐκπέμπων μὲν ληστήρια ἔφερε καὶ ἤγε τοὺς Θεβαίους, καταδρομὰς δὲ ποιούμενος ἐκακούργει τὴν χώραν. οἱ δ' αὖ Θεβαῖοι ἀντιτιμωρεῖσθαι βουλόμενοι στρατεύουσι πανδημεὶ ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν Θεσπιῶν χώραν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἦσαν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, ὁ Φοιβίδας σὺν τοῖς πελτασταῖς προσκείμενος οὐδαμῶ εἶα αὐτοὺς ἀποσκεδάννυσθαι τῆς φάλαγγος· ὥστε οἱ Θεβαῖοι μάλα ἀχθόμενοι τῆς ἐμβολῆς θάπτοντα τὴν ἀποχώρησιν ἐποιοῦντο, καὶ οἱ ὀρεοκόμοι δὲ ἀπορριπτοῦντες δυν εἰλήφεσαν καρπὸν ἀπήλαυνον οἴκαδε. οὕτω δεινὸς φόβος τῷ στρατεύματι ἐνέ-
- 43 πεσεν. ὁ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ θρασέως ἐπέκειτο, περὶ ἑαυτὸν μὲν ἔχων τὸ πελταστικόν, τὸ δ' ὀπλιτικὸν ἐν τάξει ἔπεσθαι κελεύσας. καὶ ἐν ἐλπίδι ἐγένετο τροπὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ποιήσασθαι· αὐτὸς τε γὰρ ἐρρωμένως ἡγεῖτο, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄπτεσθαι τῶν ἀνδρῶν παρεκελεύετο, καὶ τοὺς τῶν Θεσπιῶν
- 44 ὀπλίτας ἀκολουθεῖν ἐκέλευεν. ὥς δὲ ἀποχωροῦντες οἱ τῶν Θεβαίων ἱππεῖς ἐπὶ νάπη ἀδιαβάτῳ ἐγίγνοντο, πρῶτον μὲν ἡθροίσθησαν, ἔπειτα δὲ

when Agesilaus had noted that it was always after 378 B.C. breakfast that the enemy also appeared, he offered sacrifice at daybreak, led his army forward as rapidly as possible, and passed within the stockade at an unguarded point. Then he devastated and burned the region within the enclosure up to the walls of the city. After doing this and withdrawing again to Thespieae, he fortified their city for the Thespians. There he left Phoebidas as governor, while he himself crossed the mountain again to Megara, disbanded the allies, and led his citizen troops back home.

After this Phoebidas plundered the Thebans by sending out bands of freebooters, while by making raids he devastated their land. The Thebans, on their side, desiring to avenge themselves, made an expedition with their entire force against the country of the Thespians. But when they were within the territory of Thespieae, Phoebidas pressed them close with his peltasts and did not allow them to stray at any point from their phalanx; so that the Thebans in great vexation proceeded to retreat more rapidly than they had advanced, and their mule-drivers also threw away the produce which they had seized and pushed for home; so dreadful a panic had fallen upon the army. Meanwhile Phoebidas pressed upon them boldly, having with him his peltasts and giving orders to the hoplites to follow in battle order. Indeed, he conceived the hope of putting the Thebans to rout; for while he himself was leading on stoutly, he was exhorting the others to attack the enemy and ordering the hoplites of the Thespians to follow. But when the horsemen of the Thebans as they retired came to an impassable ravine, they first gathered together and then turned to face him, not knowing

- ἀνέστρεφον διὰ τὸ ἀπορεῖν ὅπῃ διαβαῖεν. οἱ μὲν οὖν πελτασταὶ ὀλίγοι ὄντες οἱ πρῶτοι φοβηθέντες αὐτοὺς ἔφυγον· οἱ δὲ ἱππεῖς αὖ τοῦτο ὥς εἶδον, ἐδιδάχθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν φευγόντων ἐπιθέσθαι αὐ-
- 45 τοῖς. καὶ ὁ μὲν δὴ Φοιβίδας καὶ δύο ἢ τρεῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ μαχόμενοι ἀπέθαιον, οἱ δὲ μισθοφόροι τούτου γενομένου πάντες ἔφυγον. ἐπεὶ δὲ φεύγοντες ἀφίκοντο πρὸς τοὺς ὀπλίτας τῶν Θεσπιῶν, κἀκείνοι, μάλα πρόσθεν μέγα φρονούντες μὴ ὑπέιξιν τοῖς Θηβαίοις, ἔφυγον, οὐδέν τι πάνυ διωκόμενοι. καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἤδη ὀψέ. καὶ ἀπέθανον μὲν οὐ πολλοί, ὅμως δὲ οὐ πρόσθεν ἔστησαν οἱ Θε-
- 46 σπιεῖς, πρὶν ἐν τῷ τείχει ἐγένοντο. ἐκ δὲ τούτου πάλιν αὖ τὰ τῶν Θηβαίων ἀνεξωπυρεῖτο, καὶ ἐστρατεύοντο ἐς Θεσπιάς καὶ εἰς τὰς ἄλλας τὰς περιοικίδας πόλεις. ὁ μέντοι δῆμος ἐξ αὐτῶν εἰς τὰς Θήβας ἀπεχώρει. ἐν πάσαις γὰρ ταῖς πόλεσι δυναστεῖαι καθειστήκεσαν, ὥσπερ ἐν Θήβαις· ὥστε καὶ οἱ ἐν ταύταις ταῖς πόλεσι φίλοι τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων βοηθείας ἐδέοντο. μετὰ δὲ τὸν Φοιβίδα θάνατον πολέμαρχον μὲν καὶ μόραν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι κατὰ θάλατταν πέμψαντες τὰς Θεσπιάς ἐφύλαττον.
- 47 Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ ἔαρ ἐπέστη, πάλιν ἔφαινον φρουρὰν οἱ ἔφοροι εἰς τὰς Θήβας, καὶ τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου, ἥπερ τὸ πρόσθεν, ἐδέοντο ἡγεῖσθαι. ὁ δ' ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμβολῆς ταῦτ' ἀγινώσκων, πρὶν καὶ τὰ διαβατήρια θύεσθαι, πέμψας πρὸς τὸν ἐν Θεσπιαῖς πολέμαρχον ἐκέλευε προκαταλαβεῖν τὸ ὑπὲρ τῆς

where they could cross. Now the peltasts were few 378 B.C.
 in number; the foremost of them were therefore
 seized with fear of the horsemen and took to flight;
 but when the horsemen, in their turn, saw this,
 they applied the lesson they had learned from the
 fugitives and attacked them. So then Phoebidas
 and two or three with him fell fighting, and when
 this happened the mercenaries all took to flight.
 And when as they fled they came to the hoplites of
 the Thespians, these also, though previously they
 had been quite proudly confident that they would
 not give way before the Thebans, took to flight with-
 out so much as being pursued at all. For by this
 time it was too late in the day for a pursuit. Now
 not many of the Thespians were killed, but never-
 theless they did not stop until they got within their
 wall. As a result of this affair the spirits of the
 Thebans were kindled again, and they made expedi-
 tions to Thespieae and to the other cities round about
 them. The democratic factions, however, withdrew
 from these cities to Thebes. For in all of them
 oligarchical governments had been established, just
 as in Thebes¹; the result was that the friends of the
 Lacedaemonians in these cities were in need of aid.
 But after the death of Phoebidas the Lacedae-
 monians merely sent over by sea a polemarch and
 one regiment, and thus kept Thespieae garrisoned.

When the spring came, however, the ephors again 377 B.C.
 called out the ban against Thebes and, just as before,
 requested Agesilaus to take command. Now since he
 held the same views as before about invading Boeotia,²
 he sent to the polemarch at Thespieae before even
 offering the sacrifice at the frontier and ordered him

¹ *i.e.* formerly; *cp.* § 1.

² See § 36 above.

κατὰ τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα ὁδοῦ ἄκρον καὶ φυλάττειν,
 48 ἕως ἂν αὐτὸς ἔλθῃ. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο ὑπερβαλὼν ἐν
 ταῖς Πλαταιαῖς ἐγένετο, πάλιν προσεποιήσατο
 εἰς τὰς Θεσπιάς πρῶτον ἵεναι, καὶ πέμπων ἀγο-
 ράν τε ἐκέλευε παρασκευάζειν καὶ τὰς πρεσβείας
 ἐκεῖ περιμένειν· ὥστε οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἰσχυρῶς τὴν
 49 πρὸς Θεσπιῶν ἐμβολὴν ἐφύλαττον. ὁ δὲ Ἀγης-
 σίλαος τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ θυσάμενος ἐπο-
 ρεύετο τὴν ἐπ' Ἐρυθράς. καὶ ὡς στρατεύματι
 δυοῖν ἡμέραιν ὁδὸν ἐν μιᾷ καθανύσας, ἔφθασεν
 ὑπερβὰς τὸ κατὰ Σκῶλον σταύρωμα, πρὶν ἐλθεῖν
 τοὺς Θηβαίους ἀπὸ τῆς φυλακῆς, καθ' ἣν τὸ πρό-
 σθεν εἰσῆλθεν. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας τὰ πρὸς ἕω
 τῆς τῶν Θηβαίων πόλεως ἐδήρου μέχρι τῆς Τανα-
 γραίων· ἔτι γὰρ τότε καὶ τὴν Τάναγραν οἱ περὶ
 Ὑπατόδωρον, φίλοι ὄντες τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων,
 εἶχον. καὶ ἐκ τούτου δὴ ἀπῆει ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἔχων
 50 τὸ τεῖχος. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ὑπελθόντες ἀντετά-
 ξαντο ἐπὶ Γραὸς στήθει, ὅπισθεν ἔχοντες τὴν τε
 τάφρον καὶ τὸ σταύρωμα, νομίζοντες καλὸν εἶναι
 ἐνταῦθα διακινδυνεύειν· καὶ γὰρ στενὸν ἦν ταύτῃ
 ἐπιεικῶς καὶ δύσβατον τὸ χωρίον. ὁ δ' Ἀγησί-
 λαος ἰδὼν ταῦτα πρὸς ἐκείνους μὲν οὐκ ἤγεν, ἐπι-
 51 σιμώσας δὲ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἦει. οἱ δ' αὖ Θη-
 βαῖοι δείσαντες περὶ τῆς πόλεως, ὅτι ἐρήμη ἦν,
 ἀπολιπόντες ἔνθα παρατεταγμένοι ἦσαν δρόμῳ

to occupy in advance the summit overlooking the road which leads over Cithaeron and to guard it until he himself arrived. And when he had passed this point and arrived at Plataea, he pretended that he was again going to Thespieae first, and sending thither he gave orders that a market should be made ready and that the embassies should await him there; so that the Thebans guarded strongly the pass leading from Thespieae into their country. But on the following day at daybreak, after offering sacrifices, Agesilaus proceeded by the road to Erythrae. And after accomplishing in one day a two days' march for an army, he passed the line of the stockade at Scolus before the Thebans returned from keeping guard at the place where he had entered on the previous occasion. Having done this, he laid waste the region to the east of the city of the Thebans, as far as the territory of the Tanagraeans; for at that time Hypatodorus and his followers, who were friends of the Lacedaemonians, still held possession of Tanagra. After this he proceeded to retire, keeping the wall of Tanagra on his left. Meanwhile the Thebans came up quietly and formed in line of battle against him on the hill called Old Woman's Breast, with the trench and the stockade in their rear, believing that this was a good place to risk a battle; for the ground at this point was a rather narrow strip and hard to traverse. When Agesilaus observed this, he did not lead his army against them, but turned aside and proceeded in the direction of the city. The Thebans, on the other hand, being seized with fear for their city, because it was empty of defenders, abandoned the place where they were drawn up and hurried toward the city on the run, by the road

877 a.c.

- ἔθεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἐπὶ Ποτνιαῶς ὁδόν· ἦν γὰρ αὕτη ἀσφαλεστέρα. καὶ μέντοι ἐδόκει καλὸν γενέσθαι τὸ ἐνθύμημα τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου, ὅτι πόρρω ἀπαγαγὼν ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀποχωρεῖν δρόμῳ αὐτοὺς ἐποίησεν· ὅμως μέντοι ἐπὶ παραθέοντας αὐτοὺς τῶν πολεμάρχων τινὲς ἐπέδραμον σὺν
 52 ταῖς μόραις. οἱ μέντοι Θηβαῖοι ἀπὸ τῶν λόφων τὰ δόρατα ἐξηκόντιζον, ὥστε καὶ ἀπέθανεν Ἀλύπητος, εἰς τῶν πολεμάρχων, ἀκοντισθεὶς δόρατι· ὅμως δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ λόφου ἐτράπησαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι· ὥστε ἀναβάντες οἱ Σκιρίται καὶ τῶν ἱππέων τινὲς ἔπαιον τοὺς τελευταίους τῶν Θη-
 53 βαίων παρελαύνοντας εἰς τὴν πόλιν. ὥς μέντοι ἐγγὺς τοῦ τείχους ἐγένοντο, ὑποστρέφουσιν οἱ Θηβαῖοι· οἱ δὲ Σκιρίται ἰδόντες αὐτοὺς θάπτον ἢ βάδην ἀπῆλθον. καὶ ἀπέθανε μὲν οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν· ὅμως δὲ οἱ Θηβαῖοι τροπαῖον ἐστήσαντο, ὅτι
 54 ἀπεχώρησαν οἱ ἀναβάντες. ὁ μέντοι Ἀγησίλαος, ἐπεὶ ὥρα ἦν, ἀπελθὼν ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο ἔνθα περ τοὺς πολεμίους εἶδε παρατεταγμένους· τῇ δ' ὑστερίᾳ ἀπήγαγε τὴν ἐπὶ Θεσπιάς. θρασέως δὲ παρακολουθούντων τῶν πελταστῶν, οἳ ἦσαν μισθοφόροι τοῖς Θηβαίοις, καὶ τὸν Χαβρίαν ἀνακαλούντων, ὅτι οὐκ ἠκολούθει, ὑποστραφέντες οἱ τῶν Ὀλυνθίων ἱππεῖς, ἥδη γὰρ κατὰ τοὺς ὅρκους συνεστρατεύοντο, ἐδίωξάν τε αὐτοὺς πρὸς ὄρθιον, καθάπερ ἠκολούθουν, καὶ ἀπέκτειναν αὐτῶν μάλα πολλούς· ταχὺ γὰρ πρὸς ἄναντες εὐήλατον ἀλί-
 55 σκονται πεζοὶ ὑφ' ἱππέων. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγένετο ὁ

which leads to Potniae; for this was the safer route. 877 A.C. And it really seemed that Agesilaus' expedient proved a clever one, for though he led his army directly away from the enemy, he caused the latter to retire on the run, and while the enemy ran past, some of his polemarchs with their regiments nevertheless succeeded in charging upon them. The Thebans, however, hurled their spears from the hill-tops, so that Alypetus, one of the polemarchs, was struck and killed; but in spite of that the Thebans were put to flight from this hill also. Consequently the Sciritans and some of the horsemen climbed the hill and showered blows upon the hindmost of the Thebans as they rushed past them toward the city. As soon as they got near the wall, however, the Thebans turned about; and the Sciritans, upon seeing them, fell back at a faster pace than a walk. Now not one of them was killed; nevertheless, the Thebans set up a trophy, because after climbing the hill the Sciritans had retired. As for Agesilaus, when it was time for him to do so, he withdrew and encamped at the very spot where he had seen the enemy drawn up; then on the following day he led his army away by the road to Thespieae. But since the peltasts who were mercenaries in the service of the Thebans clung boldly at his heels, and kept calling out to Chabrias because he was not doing the same, the horsemen of the Olynthians—for they were now serving with the Lacedaemonians in accordance with their sworn agreement—wheeled about and, once in pursuit of the peltasts, chased them on up a slope and killed very many of them; for when going up a hill where the riding is good foot-soldiers are quickly overtaken by horsemen.

Ἀγησίλαος ἐν ταῖς Θεσπιαῖς, εὐρὼν στασιάζοντας τοὺς πολίτας, καὶ βουλομένων τῶν φασκόντων λακωνίζειν ἀποκτεῖναι τοὺς ἐναντίους, ὧν καὶ Μένων ἦν, τοῦτο μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἐπέτρεψε· διαλλάξας δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ ὄρκους ὁμόσαι ἀλλήλοις ἀναγκάσας, οὕτως ἀπῆλθε πάλιν διὰ τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος τὴν ἐπὶ Μέγαρα. καὶ ἐκεῖθεν τοὺς μὲν συμμάχους ἀφῆκε, τὸ δὲ πολιτικὸν στράτευμα οἴκαδε ἀπήγαγε.

- 56 Μάλα δὲ πιεζόμενοι οἱ Θηβαῖοι σπάνει σίτου διὰ τὸ δυοῖν ἐτοῖν μὴ εἰληφέναι καρπὸν ἐκ τῆς γῆς, πέμπουσιν ἐπὶ δυοῖν τριήροιν ἄνδρας εἰς Παγασὰς ἐπὶ σῖτον δέκα τάλαντα δόντες. Ἀλκέτας δὲ ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος φυλάττων Ὀρεόν, ἐν ᾧ ἐκεῖνοι τὸν σῖτον συνεικονοῦντο, ἐπληρώσατο τρεῖς τριήρεις, ἐπιμεληθεὶς ὅπως μὴ ἐξαγγελθείη. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπήγετο ὁ σῖτος, λαμβάνει ὁ Ἀλκέτας τὸν τε σῖτον καὶ τὰς τριήρεις, καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐξώγησεν οὐκ ἐλάττους ὄντας¹ ἢ τριακοσίους. τούτους δὲ εἶρξεν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει, οὐπὲρ αὐτὸς
- 57 ἐσκήνου. ἀκολουθοῦντος δέ τινος τῶν Ὀρειτῶν παιδός, ὡς ἔφασαν, μάλα καλοῦ τε καὶ ἀγαθοῦ, καταβαίνων ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως περὶ τοῦτον ἦν. καταγνόντες δὲ οἱ αἰχμάλωτοι τὴν ἀμέλειαν, καταλαμβάνουσι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, καὶ ἡ πόλις ἀφίσταται· ὥστ' εὐπόρως ἤδη οἱ Θηβαῖοι σῖτον παρεκομίζοντο.

- 58 Ὑποφαίνοντος δὲ πάλιν τοῦ ἥρος ὁ μὲν Ἀγησίλαος κλινοπετιῆς ἦν. ὅτε γὰρ ἀπῆγε τὸ στράτευμα ἐκ τῶν Θηβῶν, ἐν τοῖς Μεγάροις

¹ Omitted in the MSS. except C: Kel. brackets.

Now when Agesilaus had arrived at Thespieae, finding 377 B.C. that the citizens were involved in factional strife, and that those who said they were supporters of Lacedaemon wanted to put to death their opponents, of whom Menon was one, he did not allow this proceeding; but he reconciled them and compelled them to give oaths to one another, and then, this being accomplished, he came back again by way of Cithaeron, taking the road leading to Megara. From there he dismissed the allies and led his citizen troops back home.

The Thebans were now greatly pinched for want of corn, because they had got no crops from their land for two years; they therefore sent men and two triremes to Pagasae after corn, giving them ten talents. But while they were buying up the corn, Alcetas, the Lacedaemonian who was keeping guard in Oreus, manned three triremes, taking care that the fact should not be reported. And when the corn was on its way from Pagasae, Alcetas captured both corn and triremes, and made prisoners of the men, who were not fewer than three hundred in number. These men he then shut up in the Acropolis, where he himself had his quarters. Now since, as the story ran, there was a boy of Oreus, an extremely fine lad too, who was always in attendance upon him, Alcetas went down from the Acropolis and occupied himself with this boy. Accordingly the prisoners, observing his carelessness, seized the Acropolis, and the city revolted; so that thereafter the Thebans brought in supplies of corn easily.

As the spring came on again, Agesilaus was confined to his bed. 376 B.C. For when he was leading his army back from Thebes, and, in Megara, was

ἀναβαίνοντος αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀφροδισίου εἰς τὸ ἄρχεϊον ῥήγνυται ὅποια δὴ φλέψ, καὶ ἔρρύη τὸ ἐκ τοῦ σώματος αἷμα εἰς τὸ ὑγιὲς σκέλος. γενομένης δὲ τῆς κνήμης ὑπερόγκου καὶ ὀδυνῶν ἀφορήτων, Συρακόσιός τις ἰατρὸς σχάζει τὴν παρὰ τῷ σφυρῷ φλέβα αὐτοῦ. ὥς δὲ ἄπαξ ἤρξατο, ἔρρει αὐτῷ νύκτα τε καὶ ἡμέραν τὸ αἷμα, καὶ πάντα ποιοῦντες οὐκ ἐδύναντο σχεῖν τὸ ρεῦμα πρὶν ἐλιποψύχησε· τότε μέντοι ἐπαύσατο. καὶ οὕτως ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἀποκομισθεὶς εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἡρρώσκει τό τε λοιπὸν θέρος καὶ διὰ χειμῶνος.

59 Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἐπεὶ ἔαρ ὑπέφαινε, πάλιν φρουράν τε ἔφαῖνον καὶ Κλεόμβροτον ἡγεῖσθαι ἐκέλευον. ἐπεὶ δ' ἔχων τὸ στράτευμα πρὸς τῷ Κιθαιρῶνι ἐγένετο, προῆσαν αὐτῷ οἱ πελτασταὶ ὥς προκαταληψόμενοι τὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὁδοῦ. Θηβαίων δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίων προκατέχοντές τινες τὸ ἄκρον τέως μὲν εἶων αὐτοὺς ἀναβαίνειν· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἦσαν, ἐξαναστάντες ἐδίωκον καὶ ἀπέκτειναν περὶ τετταράκοντα. τούτου δὲ γενομένου ὁ Κλεόμβροτος ἀδύνατον νομίσας τὸ ὑπερβῆναι εἰς τὴν τῶν Θηβαίων, ἀπῆγέ τε καὶ διῆκε τὸ στράτευμα.

60 Συλλεγέντων δὲ τῶν συμμάχων εἰς Λακεδαίμονα, λόγοι ἐγίγνοντο ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων¹ ὅτι διὰ μαλακίαν κατατριβήσονται ὑπὸ τοῦ πολέμου. ἐξεῖναι γὰρ σφίσι ναῦς πληρώσαντας πολὺ πλείους τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐλεῖν λιμῷ τὴν πόλιν

¹ ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων MSS.: Kel. brackets.

ascending from the Aphrodisium to the government building, some vein or other was ruptured, and the blood from his body poured into his sound¹ leg. Then as the lower part of his leg became immensely swollen and the pain unendurable, a Syracusan surgeon opened the vein at his ankle. But when once the blood had begun to flow, it ran night and day, and with all they could do they were unable to check the flow until he lost consciousness; then, however, it stopped. So it came about that after being carried back to Lacedaemon he was ill the rest of the summer and throughout the winter.

The Lacedaemonians, however, when spring was just beginning, again called out the ban and directed Cleombrotus to take command. Now when he arrived at Cithaeron with the army, his peltasts went on ahead for the purpose of occupying in advance the heights above the road. But some of the Thebans and Athenians who were already in possession of the summit allowed the peltasts to pursue their ascent for a time, but when they were close upon them, rose from their concealment, pursued them, and killed about forty. After this had happened, Cleombrotus, in the belief that it was impossible to cross over the mountain into the country of the Thebans, led back and disbanded his army.

When the allies gathered together at Lacedaemon, speeches were forthcoming from them to the effect that, through slackness in prosecuting the war, they were going to be worn out by it. For they said it was within their power to man far more ships than the Athenians had and to capture their city by starvation;

¹ See III. iii. 3 and note.

- αὐτῶν· ἐξεῖναι δ' ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς ταύταις ναυσὶ καὶ εἰς Θήβας στράτευμα διαβιβάζειν, εἰ μὲν βούλονται, ἐπὶ Φωκέων, εἰ δὲ βούλονται, ἐπὶ
- 61 Κρεύσιος. ταῦτα δὲ λογισάμενοι ἐξήκοντα μὲν τριήρεις ἐπλήρωσαν, Πόλλις δ' αὐτῶν ναύαρχος ἐγένετο. καὶ μέντοι οὐκ ἐψεύσθησαν οἱ ταῦτα γνόντες, ἀλλ' οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπολιορκοῦντο· τὰ γὰρ σιταγωγὰ αὐτοῖς πλοῖα ἐπὶ μὲν τὸν Γεραστὸν ἀφίκετο, ἐκεῖθεν δ' οὐκέτι ἤθελε παραπλεῖν, τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ὄντος τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίων περὶ τε Αἴ-γιναν καὶ Κέω καὶ Ἄνδρον. γνόντες δ' οἱ Ἀθη-ναῖοι τὴν ἀνάγκην, ἐνέβησαν αὐτοὶ εἰς τὰς ναῦς, καὶ ναυμαχήσαντες πρὸς τὸν Πόλλιν Χαβρίου ἡγουμένου νικῶσι τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ. καὶ ὁ μὲν σῖτος
- 62 τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις οὕτω παρεκομίσθη. παρασκευα-ζομένων δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων στράτευμα διαβι-βάζειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς, ἐδεήθησαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι τῶν Ἀθηναίων περὶ Πελοπόννησον στράτευμα πέμψαι, νομίσαντες εἰ τοῦτο γένοιτο, οὐ δυνατὸν ἔσεσθαι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἅμα μὲν τὴν ἑαυτῶν χώραν φυλάττειν, ἅμα δὲ τὰς περὶ ἐκεῖνα τὰ χωρία συμμαχίδας πόλεις, ἅμα δὲ στράτευμα
- 63 διαβιβάζειν ἱκανὸν πρὸς ἑαυτούς. καὶ οἱ Ἀθη-ναῖοι μέντοι ὀργιζόμενοι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις διὰ τὸ Σφοδρία ἔργον, προθύμως ἐξέπεμψαν περὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ναῦς τε ἐξήκοντα πληρώσαντες καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν Τιμόθεον ἐλόμενοι. ἅτε δὲ εἰς τὰς Θήβας οὐκ ἐμβεβληκότων τῶν πολεμίων οὐτ' ἐν ᾧ Κλεόμβροτος ἤγε τὴν στρατιὰν ἔτει οὐτ' ἐν ᾧ Τιμόθεος περιέπλευσε, θρασέως δὴ ἐστρατεύοντο οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἐπὶ τὰς περιοικίδας

and it was also within their power to transport an 876 B.C.
 army across to Thebes in these same ships, steering for
 Phocis if they chose, or, if they chose, for Creusis.
 Influenced by these considerations they manned sixty
 triremes, and Pollis was made admiral of them. And
 those who had conceived these views were not disap-
 pointed, for the Athenians were in fact as good as
 besieged; for while their corn ships got as far as
 Gerastus, they would not now venture to sail along
 the coast from that point, since the Lacedaemonian
 fleet was in the neighbourhood of Aegina, Ceos, and
 Andros. Then the Athenians, realizing the necessity
 that was upon them, went on board their ships them-
 selves, joined battle with Pollis under the leadership
 of Chabrias, and were victorious in the battle. Thus
 the corn was brought in for the Athenians. 875 B.C.
 Again, while the Lacedaemonians were preparing to trans-
 port an army across the gulf to proceed against the
 Boeotians, the Thebans requested the Athenians to
 send an expedition around Peloponnesus, believing
 that if this were done it would not be possible for
 the Lacedaemonians at one and the same time to
 guard their own country and likewise the allied cities
 in their neighbourhood, and also to send across an
 army large enough to oppose themselves, the The-
 bans. And the Athenians, angry as they were with
 the Lacedaemonians on account of Sphodrias' act, did
 eagerly dispatch the expedition around Peloponnesus,
 manning sixty ships and choosing Timotheus as their
 commander. Now since the enemy had not invaded
 the territory of Thebes in the year when Cleom-
 brotus was in command of the army and did not do
 so in the year when Timotheus made his voyage, the
 Thebans boldly undertook expeditions against the

- 64 πόλεις καὶ πάλιν αὐτὰς ἀνελάμβανον. ὁ μέντοι Τιμόθεος περιπλεύσας Κέρκυραν μὲν εὐθύς ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ ἐποίησατο· οὐ μέντοι ἡνδραποδίστατο οὐδὲ ἄνδρας ἐφυγάδευσεν οὐδὲ νόμους μετέστησεν. ἐξ ὧν τὰς περὶ ἐκεῖνα πόλεις πάσας εὐμενεστέρας
- 65 ἔσχευ. ἀντεπλήρωσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ναυτικόν, καὶ Νικόλοχον ναύαρχον, μάλα θρασὺν ἄνδρα, ἐξέπεμψαν· ὃς ἐπειδὴ εἶδε τὰς μετὰ Τιμοθέου ναῦς, οὐκ ἐμέλλησε, καίπερ ἔξ νεῶν αὐτῶ ἀπουσῶν τῶν Ἀμβρακιωτίδων, ἀλλὰ πέντε καὶ πεντήκοντα ἔχων ναῦς ἐξήκοντα οὔσαις ταῖς μετὰ Τιμοθέου ἐναυμάχησε. καὶ τότε μὲν ἡττήθη· καὶ τροπαῖον ὁ Τιμόθεος ἔστησεν ἐν Ἀλυζείᾳ.
- 66 ὁ δὲ ἀνείλκυσμένων τῶν Τιμοθέου νεῶν καὶ ἐπισκευαζομένων, ἐπεὶ παρεγένοντο αὐτῷ αἱ Ἀμβρακιώτιδες ἔξ τριήρεις ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλύζειαν ἔπλευσεν, ἔνθα ἦν ὁ Τιμόθεος. ὥς δὲ οὐκ ἀντανήγε, τροπαῖον αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἐστήσατο ἐν ταῖς ἐγγυτάτῳ νήσοις. ὁ δὲ Τιμόθεος ἐπεὶ ἄς τε εἶχεν ἐπεσκεύασε καὶ ἐκ Κερκύρας ἄλλας προσεπληρώσατο, γενομένων αὐτῷ τῶν πασῶν πλέον ἐβδομήκοντα, πολὺ δὲ ὑπερεῖχε ναυτικῷ· χρήματα μέντοι μετεπέμπετο Ἀθήνηθεν· πολλῶν γὰρ ἐδεῖτο, ἅτε πολλὰς ναῦς ἔχων.

neighbouring cities of Boeotia and recovered them 875 B.C.
 a second time. As for Timotheus, after he had sailed round Peloponnesus he brought Corcyra at once under his control; he did not, however, enslave the inhabitants or banish individuals or change the government. As a result of this he made all the states in that region more favourably inclined to him. The Lacedaemonians, however, manned a fleet to oppose him, and sent out Nicolochus, a very daring man, as admiral; and as soon as he sighted the ships under Timotheus, he did not delay, even though six of his ships, those from Ambracia, were not with him, but with fifty-five ships he joined battle with those under Timotheus, which numbered sixty. And at that time he was defeated, and Timotheus set up a trophy at Alyzeia. But when the ships of Timotheus had been hauled up and were being refitted, and meanwhile the six Ambraciot triremes had joined Nicolochus, he sailed to Alyzeia, where Timotheus was. And since the latter did not put out against him, he in his turn set up a trophy on the nearest islands. When, however, Timotheus finished refitting the ships which he had and had manned, besides, others from Corcyra, the whole number of his ships now amounting to more than seventy, he was far superior to the enemy in the size of his fleet. But he kept sending for money from Athens; for he needed a great deal, inasmuch as he had a great many ships.

BOOK VI

Ι. Οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι περὶ ταῦτα ἦσαν. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ἐπεὶ κατεστρέψαντο τὰς ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ πόλεις, ἐστράτευσον καὶ εἰς τὴν Φωκίδα. ὥς δ' αὖ καὶ οἱ Φωκεῖς ἐπρέσβευον εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα καὶ ἔλεγον ὅτι εἰ μὴ βοηθήσοιεν, οὐ δυνήσονται μὴ πείθεσθαι τοῖς Θηβαίοις, ἐκ τούτου οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι διαβιβάζουσι κατὰ θάλατταν εἰς Φωκέας Κλεόμβροτόν τε τὸν βασιλέα καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ τέτταρας μόρας καὶ τῶν συμμάχων τὸ μέρος.

- 2 Σχεδὸν δὲ περὶ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον καὶ ἐκ Θετταλίας ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων Πολυδάμας Φαρσάλιος. οὗτος δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ Θετταλίᾳ μάλα ἡνδοκίμει, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει οὕτως ἐδόκει καλὸς τε καὶ ἀγαθὸς εἶναι ὥστε καὶ στασιάσαντες οἱ Φαρσάλιοι παρακατέθεντο αὐτῷ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, καὶ τὰς προσόδους ἐπέτρεψαν λαμβάνοντι, ὅσα ἐγγέγραπτο ἐν τοῖς νόμοις, εἷς τε τὰ ἱερὰ ἀναλίσκειν καὶ εἰς τὴν

BOOK VI

I. THE Athenians and Lacedaemonians, then, were occupied with these things. As for the Thebans, after they had subdued the cities in Boeotia they made an expedition into Phocis also. And when the Phocians, on their side, sent ambassadors to Lacedaemon and said that unless the Lacedaemonians came to their assistance they would not be able to escape yielding to the Thebans, thereupon the Lacedaemonians sent Cleombrotus, the king, across to Phocis by sea, and with him four regiments of their own and the corresponding contingents¹ of the allies.

375 B.C.

374 B.C.

At about this time Polydamas of Pharsalus also arrived from Thessaly and presented himself before the general assembly of the Lacedaemonians. This man was not only held in very high repute throughout all Thessaly, but in his own city was regarded as so honourable a man that, when the Pharsalians fell into factional strife, they put their Acropolis in his hands and entrusted to him the duty of receiving the revenues, and of expending, both for religious purposes and for the administration in general, all the sums which were prescribed in their

¹ Four regiments was two-thirds of the Spartan army; each one of the allies was therefore required to send out the same fraction of its total forces.

- 3 ἄλλην διοίκησιν. κακείνος μέντοι ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν χρημάτων τήν τε ἄκραν φυλάττων διέσωζεν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰλλα διοικῶν ἀπελογίζετο κατ' ἐνιαυτόν. καὶ ὁπότε μὲν ἐνδεήσεις, παρ' ἑαυτοῦ προσετίθει, ὁπότε δὲ περιγένοιτο τῆς προσόδου, ἀπελάμβανεν. ἦν δὲ καὶ ἄλλως φιλόξενός τε καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῆς τὸν Θετταλικὸν τρόπον. οὗτος οὖν ἐπεὶ ἀφίκετο εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα, εἶπε τοιάδε.
- 4 Ἐγώ, ὦ ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, πρόξενος ὑμῶν ὢν καὶ εὐεργέτης ἐκ πάντων ὧν μεμνήμεθα προγόνων, ἀξιῶ, εἴαν τέ τι ἀπορῶ, πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἰέναι, εἴαν τέ τι χαλεπὸν ὑμῖν ἐν τῇ Θετταλίᾳ συνιστῇται, σημαίνειν. ἀκούετε μὲν οὖν, εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι, καὶ ὑμεῖς Ἰάσονος ὄνομα· ὁ γὰρ ἀνὴρ καὶ δύναμιν ἔχει μεγάλην καὶ ὀνομαστός ἐστιν. οὗτος δὲ σπονδὰς ποιησάμενος συνεγένετό μοι, καὶ εἶπε
- 5 τάδε· Ὅτι μὲν, ὦ Πολυδάμα, καὶ ἤκουσαν τὴν ὑμετέραν πόλιν Φάρσαλον¹ δυναίμην ἂν παραστήσασθαι ἔξεστι σοι ἐκ τῶνδε λογίζεσθαι. ἐγὼ γάρ, ἔφη, ἔχω μὲν Θετταλίας τὰς πλείστας καὶ μεγίστας πόλεις συμμάχους· κατεστρεψάμην δ' αὐτὰς ὑμῶν σὺν αὐταῖς τὰ ἐναντία ἐμοὶ στρατευομένων. καὶ μὴν οἶσθά γε ὅτι ξένους ἔχω μισθοφόρους εἰς ἑξακισχιλίους, οἷς, ὥς ἐγὼ οἶμαι, οὐδεμία πόλις δύναιτ' ἂν ῥαδίως μάχεσθαι. ἀριθμὸς μὲν γάρ, ἔφη, καὶ ἄλλοθεν οὐκ ἂν ἐλάττων ἐξέλ-

¹ Φάρσαλον MSS. : Kel. brackets, following Schäfer.

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laws. And he did, in fact, use these funds to guard 574 a.c the Acropolis and keep it safe for them, and likewise to administer their other affairs, rendering them an account yearly. And whenever there was a deficit he made it up from his own private purse, and whenever there was a surplus of revenue he paid himself back. Besides, he was hospitable and magnificent, after the Thessalian manner. Now when this man arrived at Lacedaemon he spoke as follows:

“Men of Lacedaemon, I am your diplomatic agent and ‘benefactor,’¹ as all my ancestors have been of whom we have any knowledge; I therefore deem it proper, if I am in any difficulty, to come to you, and if any trouble is gathering for you in Thessaly, to make it known to you. Now you also, I am very sure, often hear the name of Jason² spoken, for the man has great power and is famous. This man, after concluding a truce with my city, had a meeting with me and spoke as follows: ‘Polydamas, that I could bring over your city, Pharsalus, even against its will, you may conclude from the following facts. You know,’ he said, ‘that I have as allies the greater number and the largest of the cities of Thessaly; and I subdued them when you were with them in the field against me. Furthermore, you are aware that I have men of other states as mercenaries to the number of six thousand, with whom, as I think, no city could easily contend. As for numbers,’ he said, ‘of course as great a force might march out of

¹ A title of honour which Greek states often gave to aliens who had rendered them service.

² Tyrant of Pherae, a city in south-eastern Thessaly.

- θοι· ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων στρατεύματα τοὺς μὲν προεληλυθότας ἤδη ταῖς ἡλικίαις ἔχει, τοὺς δ' οὐπω ἀκμάζοντας. σωμασκοῦσί γε μὴν μάλα ὀλίγοι τινὲς ἐν ἐκάστη πόλει· παρ' ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐδεὶς μισθοφορεῖ, ὅστις μὴ ἱκανὸς ἐστὶν ἐμοὶ ἴσα
- 6 πονεῖν. αὐτὸς δ' ἐστί, λέγειν γὰρ χρὴ πρὸς ὑμᾶς τὰληθῆ, καὶ τὸ σῶμα μάλα εὖρωστος καὶ ἄλλως φιλόπονος. καὶ τοίνυν τῶν παρ' αὐτῷ πείραν λαμβάνει καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν· ἡγεῖται γὰρ σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ ἐν τοῖς γυμνασίοις καὶ ὅταν πη στρατεύηται. καὶ οὓς μὲν ἂν μαλακοὺς τῶν ξένων αἰσθάνηται, ἐκβάλλει, οὓς δ' ἂν ὀρᾷ φιλοπόνως καὶ φιλοκινδύνως ἔχοντας πρὸς τοὺς πολέμους, τιμᾷ, τοὺς μὲν διμοιρίαις, τοὺς δὲ τριμοιρίαις, τοὺς δὲ καὶ τετραμοιρίαις, καὶ ἄλλοις δώροις, καὶ νόσων γε θεραπείαις καὶ περὶ ταφὰς κόσμῳ· ὥστε πάντες ἴσασιν οἱ παρ' ἐκείνῳ ξένοι ὅτι ἡ πολεμικὴ αὐτοῖς ἀρετὴ ἐντιμώτατόν τε βίον καὶ ἀφθονώτατον παρέχεται.
- 7 Ἐπεδείκνυε δέ μοι εἰδότες ὅτι καὶ ὑπήκοοι ἤδη αὐτῷ εἶεν Μαρακοὶ καὶ Δόλοπες καὶ Ἀλκέτας ὁ ἐν τῇ Ἡπείρῳ ὑπαρχος· Ὡστε, ἔφη, τί ἂν ἐγὼ φοβούμενος οὐ ῥαδίως ἂν ὑμᾶς οἰοίμην καταστρέψασθαι; τάχα οὖν ὑπολάβοι ἂν τις ἐμοῦ ἄπειρος· Τί οὖν μέλλεις καὶ οὐκ ἤδη στρατεύεις ἐπὶ τοὺς Φαρσαλίους; ὅτι νῆ Δία τῷ παντὶ κρεῖττόν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι ἐκόντας ὑμᾶς μᾶλλον ἢ ἄκοντας προσαγαγέσθαι. βιασθέντες μὲν γὰρ ὑμεῖς τ' ἂν βουλευόισθε ὅ τι δύναισθε

some other city also ; but armies made up of citizens 374 B.C. include men who are already advanced in years and others who have not yet come to their prime. Furthermore, in every city very few men train their bodies, but among my mercenaries no one serves unless he is able to endure as severe toils as I myself.' And he himself—for I must tell you the truth—is exceedingly strong of body and a lover of toil besides. Indeed, he makes trial every day of the men under him, for in full armour he leads them, both on the parade-ground and whenever he is on a campaign anywhere. And whomsoever among his mercenaries he finds to be weaklings he casts out, but whomsoever he sees to be fond of toil and fond of the dangers of war he rewards, some with double pay, others with triple pay, others even with quadruple pay, and with gifts besides, as well as with care in sickness and magnificence in burial ; so that all the mercenaries in his service know that martial prowess assures to them a life of greatest honour and abundance.

"He pointed out to me, further, although I knew it before, that he already had as subjects the Maracians, the Dolopians, and Alcetas, the ruler in Epirus. 'Therefore,' he said, 'what have I to fear that I should not expect to subdue you easily? To be sure, one who did not know me might perhaps retort, "Then why do you delay, instead of prosecuting your campaign against the Pharsalians at once?" Because, by Zeus, it seems to me to be altogether better to bring you over to my side willingly rather than unwillingly. For if you were constrained by force, you, on the one hand, would be planning whatever harm you could against me, and I, on the other,

- κακὸν ἐμοί, ἐγὼ τ' ἂν ὑμᾶς ὡς ἀσθενεστάτους
 βουλοίμην εἶναι· εἰ δὲ πεισθέντες μετ' ἐμοῦ γέ-
 νοισθε, δῆλον ὅτι αὐξοίμεν ἂν ὃ τι δυναίμεθα
 8 ἀλλήλους. γιγνώσκω μὲν οὖν, ὦ Πολυδάμα, ὅτι
 ἡ σὴ πατρίς εἰς σέ ἀποβλέπει· ἐὰν δέ μοι φιλι-
 κῶς αὐτὴν ἔχειν παρασκευάσῃς, ὑπισχνούμαί σοι,
 ἔφη, ἐγὼ μέγιστόν σε τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι μετ' ἐμέ
 καταστήσειν· οἷον δὲ πραγμάτων τὰ δευτέρά σοι
 δίδωμι ἄκουε, καὶ μηδὲν πιστεύέ μοι ὃ τι ἂν μὴ
 λογιζομένῳ σοι ἀληθὲς φαίνεται. οὐκοῦν τοῦτο
 μὲν εὐδὴλον ἡμῖν, ὅτι Φαρσάλου προσγενομένης
 καὶ τῶν ἐξ ὑμῶν ἡρτημένων πόλεων εὐπετῶς ἂν
 ἐγὼ ταγὸς Θετταλῶν ἀπάντων κατασταίην· ὥς
 γε μὴν, ὅταν ταγεύηται Θετταλία, εἰς ἑξακισχι-
 λίους μὲν οἱ ἱππεύοντες γίνονται, ὀπλῖται δὲ
 9 πλείους ἢ μύριοι καθίστανται. ὦν ἐγὼ καὶ τὰ
 σώματα καὶ τὴν μεγαλοψυχίαν ὁρῶν οἶμαι ἂν
 αὐτῶν εἰ καλῶς τις ἐπιμελοῖτο, οὐκ εἶναι ἔθνος
 ὁποῖον ἂν ἀξιώσαιεν ὑπήκοοι εἶναι Θετταλοί.
 πλατυτάτης γε μὴν γῆς οὕσης Θετταλίας, πάντα
 τὰ κύκλῳ ἔθνη ὑπήκοα μὲν ἐστίν, ὅταν ταγὸς
 ἐνθάδε καταστῇ· σχεδὸν δὲ πάντες οἱ ταύτῃ ἀκον-
 τισταί εἰσιν· ὥστε καὶ πελταστικῶ εἰκὸς ὑπερέ-
 10 χεῖν τὴν ἡμετέραν δύναμιν. καὶ μὴν Βοιωτοί γε
 καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες ὅσοι Λακεδαιμονίοις πολε-
 μούντες ὑπάρχουσίν μοι σύμμαχοι· καὶ ἀκολουθεῖν
 τοίνυν ἀξιοῦσιν ἐμοί, ἂν μόνον ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων
 ἐλευθερῶ αὐτούς. καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι
 πάντα ποιήσαιεν ἂν ὥστε σύμμαχοι ἡμῖν γενέ-

¹ Over-lord, a Thessalian title.

² Therefore Thessaly was famous for its cavalry, and produced hoplites also (see above); but peltasts—which were at

should be wanting to keep you as weak as I could; 374 B.C. but if it was through persuasion that you joined with me, it is clear that we should advance one another's interests to the best of our ability. Now I know, Polydamas, that your city looks to you, and if you make her friendly to me I promise you,' he said, 'that I will make you the greatest, next to myself, of all the men in Greece; and what manner of fortune it is wherein I offer you the second place, hear from me, and believe nothing that I say unless upon consideration it appears to you true. Well, then, this is plain to us, that if Pharsalus and the cities which are dependent upon you should be added to my power, I could easily become Tagus¹ of all the Thessalians; and, further, that whenever Thessaly is under a Tagus, her horsemen amount to six thousand and more than ten thousand men become hoplites. And when I see both their bodies and their high spirit, I think that if one should handle them rightly, there would be no people to whom the Thessalians would deign to be subject. Again, while Thessaly is an exceedingly flat land,² all the peoples round about are subject to her as soon as a Tagus is established here; and almost all who dwell in these neighbouring regions are javelin-men, so that it is likely that our force would be far superior in peltasts also. Furthermore, the Boeotians and all the others who are at war with the Lacedaemonians are my allies, and they are ready to be my followers, too, if only I free them from the Lacedaemonians. The Athenians also, I know very well, would do anything their best in a rough country—could nevertheless be obtained, Jason urges, from the mountainous regions which adjoined Thessaly and were likely to become subject to him (see below).

σθαι· ἀλλ' ἐγὼ οὐκ ἂν μοι δοκῶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς
φιλίαν ποιήσασθαι. νομίζω γὰρ ἔτι ῥᾶον τὴν
κατὰ θάλατταν ἢ τὴν κατὰ γῆν ἀρχὴν παρα-
λαβεῖν ἂν.

- 11 Εἰ δὲ εἰκότα λογίζομαι, σκόπει, ἔφη, καὶ
ταῦτα. ἔχοντες μὲν γε Μακεδονίαν, ἔνθεν καὶ
Ἀθηναῖοι τὰ ξύλα ἄγονται, πολὺ δῆπου πλείους
ἐκείνων ἱκανοὶ ἐσόμεθα ναῦς ποιήσασθαι. ἀν-
δρῶν γε μὴν ταύτας πληροῦν πότερον Ἀθηναίους
ἢ ἡμᾶς εἰκὸς μᾶλλον δύνασθαι, τοσούτους καὶ
τοιούτους ἔχοντας πενέστας; τοὺς γε μὴν ναύτας
τρέφειν πότερον ἡμᾶς ἱκανωτέρους εἰκὸς εἶναι
τοὺς δι' ἀφθονίαν καὶ ἄλλοσε σῖτον ἐκπέμποντας
ἢ Ἀθηναίους τοὺς μὴδ' αὐτοῖς ἱκανὸν ἔχοντας, ἂν
12 μὴ πρίωνται; καὶ χρήμασί γε εἰκὸς δῆπου ἡμᾶς
ἀφθονωτέροις χρῆσθαι μὴ εἰς νησύδρια ἀποβλέ-
ποντας, ἀλλ' ἡπειρωτικὰ ἔβνη καρπουμένους.
πάντα γὰρ δῆπου τὰ κύκλῳ φόρον φέρει, ὅταν
ταγεύηται τὰ κατὰ Θερταλίαν. οἶσθα δὲ δῆπου
ὅτι καὶ βασιλεὺς ὁ Περσῶν οὐ νήσους ἀλλ' ἡπει-
ρον καρπούμενος πλουσιώτατος ἀνθρώπων ἐστίν·
ὃν ἐγὼ ὑπήκοον ποιήσασθαι ἔτι εὐκατεργαστό-
τερον ἡγοῦμαι εἶναι ἢ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. οἶδα γὰρ
πάντας τοὺς ἐκεῖ ἀνθρώπους πλὴν ἑνὸς μᾶλλον
δουλείαν ἢ ἀλκὴν μεμελετηκότας, οἶδα δὲ ὑφ'
οἷας δυνάμεως καὶ τῆς μετὰ Κύρου ἀναβάσης καὶ
τῆς μετ' Ἀγησιλάου εἰς πᾶν ἀφίκετο βασιλεὺς.
- 13 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτ' εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ ἐγὼ ἀπεκρινάμην

to become allies of ours, but I do not think it best 974 a.d.
to establish a friendship with them; for I believe
that I could obtain empire by sea even more easily
than by land.

“‘ To see whether my calculations are reasonable,
he said, ‘consider these points also. With Mace-
donia in our possession, the place from which the
Athenians get their timber, we shall of course be
able to construct far more ships than they. Again,
who are likely to be better able to supply these
ships with men, the Athenians or ourselves, who
have so many serfs of so excellent a sort? And
who are likely to be better able to maintain the
sailors, we, who on account of our abundance even
have corn to export to other lands, or the Athenians,
who have not even enough for themselves unless they
buy it? Then as for money, we surely should be
likely to enjoy a greater abundance of it, for we
should not be looking to little islands for our re-
venues, but drawing upon the resources of peoples
of the continent. For of course all who are round
about us pay tribute as soon as Thessaly is under a
Tagus. And you certainly know that it is by drawing
upon the resources, not of islands, but of a continent,
that the King of the Persians is the richest of
mortals; and yet I think that it is even easier to
reduce him to subjection than to reduce Greece.
For I know that everybody there, save one person,
has trained himself to servitude rather than to
prowess, and I know what manner of force it was—
both that which went up with Cyrus and that which
went up with Agesilaus—that brought the King to
extremities.’

“Now in answer to these statements I replied

ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἀξιόσκεπτα λέγει, τὸ δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις ὄντας φίλους ἀποστήναι πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους, μηδὲν ἔχοντας ἐγκαλεῖν, τοῦτ', ἔφην, ἄπορόν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι· ὁ δ' ἐπαινέσας με καὶ εἰπὼν ὅτι μᾶλλον ἐκτέον μου εἴη, ὅτι τοιοῦτος εἴην, ἐφῆκέ μοι ἐλθόντι πρὸς ὑμᾶς λέγειν τάληθῆ, ὅτι διανοοῖτο στρατεύειν ἐπὶ Φαρσαλίου, εἰ μὴ πεισοίμεθα. αἰτεῖν οὖν ἐκέλευε βοήθειαν παρ' ὑμῶν. Καὶ ἐὰν μὲν θεοί,¹ ἔφη, διδῶσιν ὥστε σε πείθειν ἱκανὴν πέμπειν συμμαχίαν ὡς ἐμοὶ πολεμεῖν, ἄγ', ἔφη, καὶ τούτῳ χρώμεθα ὃ τι ἂν ἀποβαίνη ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου· ἂν δέ σοι μὴ δοκῶσιν ἱκανῶς βοηθεῖν, οὐκ ἤδη ἀνέγκλητος ἂν δικαίως εἴης εἰ² τῇ πατρίδι, ἣ σε τιμᾶ, καὶ σὺ πράττοις τὰ κράτιστα;

- 14 Περὶ τούτων δὴ ἐγὼ ἤκω πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ λέγω πάντα ὅσα ἐκεῖ αὐτός τε ὁρῶ καὶ ἐκείνου ἀκήκοα. καὶ νομίζω οὕτως ἔχειν, ὧ ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, εἰ μὲν πέμψετε ἐκεῖσε δύναμιν, ὡς μὴ ἐμοὶ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Θετταλοῖς ἱκανὴν δοκεῖν εἶναι πρὸς Ἰάσονα πολεμεῖν, ἀποστήσονται αὐτοῦ αἱ πόλεις· πᾶσαι γὰρ φοβοῦνται ὅποι ποτὲ προβήσεται ἡ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς δύναμις. εἰ δὲ νεοδαμώδεις καὶ ἄνδρα ἰδιώτην οἴεσθε ἀρκέσειν, συμ-
- 15 βουλεύω ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν. εὖ γὰρ ἴστε, ὅτι³ πρὸς τε μεγάλην ἔσται ῥώμην ὁ πόλεμος, καὶ πρὸς

¹ θεοί Cobet: σοί Kel. with MSS.

² εἰ Madvig: ἐν MSS.: ἐν τῇ πατρίδι . . . καὶ οὗ πράττεις Kel.

³ Omitted by MS. B: Kel. brackets.

that while the other matters which he mentioned 874 B.C. were worth considering, nevertheless for people who were friends of the Lacedaemonians to secede and go over to their enemies without having any charge to bring against them—this, I said, seemed to me to be impracticable. He thereupon, after commending me and saying that he must cling to me the more because I was that sort of a man, permitted me to come to you and say the truth, that he was intending to undertake a campaign against the Pharsalians if we did not yield to him. Therefore he bade me ask assistance from you. ‘And if,’ said he, ‘the gods grant that you persuade them to send a supporting force large enough to make war with me, so be it,’ he said, ‘and let us abide by whatever may be the result of the war; but if it seems to you that they do not give you adequate assistance, would you not justly be blameless thenceforth if you should follow the course that is best for your city, which honours you?’

“It is about these matters, then, that I have come to you, and I tell you the whole situation there as I myself see it and have heard it from his lips. And I believe that this is the case, men of Lacedaemon, that if you send thither a force such as shall seem, not to me only, but also to the rest of the Thessalians, large enough to make war upon Jason, the cities will revolt from him; for all of them are afraid of the lengths to which the man’s power will go. But if you imagine that emancipated Helots and a private individual¹ as commander will suffice, I advise you to remain quiet. For, be well assured, the war will be against strong forces

¹ i.e. not a king.

ἄνδρα δὲ φρόνιμος μὲν οὕτω στρατηγός ἐστιν ὥς
 ὅσα τε λανθάνειν καὶ ὅσα φθάνειν καὶ ὅσα βια-
 ζεσθαι ἐπιχειρεῖ οὐ μάλα ἀφασμαρτάνει. ἱκανὸς
 γάρ ἐστι καὶ νυκτὶ ἅπερ ἡμέρᾳ χρῆσθαι, καὶ ὅταν
 σπεύδῃ, ἄριστον καὶ δείπνον ποιησάμενος ἅμα
 πονεῖσθαι. οἴεται δὲ καὶ ἀναπαύεσθαι χρῆναι,
 ὅταν ἀφίκηται ἔνθ' ἂν ὠρμημένος ἢ καὶ διαπράξη-
 ται ἃ δεῖ· καὶ τοὺς μεθ' αὐτοῦ δὲ ταῦτα εἵθικεν.
 ἐπίσταται δὲ καὶ ὅταν ἐπιπονήσαντες ἀγαθὸν τι
 πρύξωσιν οἱ στρατιῶται, ἐκπλῆσαι τὰς γνώμας
 αὐτῶν· ὥστε καὶ τοῦτο μεμαθήκασιν πάντες οἱ
 μετ' αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ἐκ τῶν πόνων καὶ τὰ μαλακὰ

16 γίγνεται. καὶ μὴν ἐγκρατέστατός γ' ἐστὶν ὧν
 ἐγὼ οἶδα τῶν περὶ τὸ σῶμα ἡδονῶν· ὥστε οὐδὲ
 διὰ ταῦτα ἀσχολίαν ἔχει τὸ μὴ πράττειν αἰεὶ τὸ
 δεόμενον. ὑμεῖς οὖν σκεψάμενοι εἶπατε πρὸς ἐμέ,
 ὥσπερ ὑμῖν προσήκει, ὅποια δυνήσεσθέ τε καὶ
 μέλλετε ποιήσειν.

17 'Ο μὲν ταῦτ' εἶπεν. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τότε
 μὲν ἀνεβάλοντο τὴν ἀπόκρισιν· τῇ δ' ὑστεραία
 καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ λογισάμενοι τάς τε ἔξω μόρας
 ὅσαι αὐτοῖς εἶεν καὶ τὰς περὶ Λακεδαίμονα πρὸς
 τὰς¹ τῶν Ἀθηναίων τριῆρεις καὶ τὸν πρὸς τοὺς
 ὁμόρους πόλεμον, ἀπεκρίναντο ὅτι ἐν τῷ παρόντι
 οὐκ ἂν δύναιτο ἱκανὴν αὐτῷ ἐκπέμψαι ἐπικου-
 ρίαν, ἀλλ' ἀπιόντα συντίθεσθαι αὐτὸν ἐκέλευον
 ὅπῃ δύναιτο ἄριστα τά τε ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὰ τῆς

18 πόλεως. κακεῖνος μέντοι ἐπαινέσας τὴν ἀπλό-

¹ After τὰς the MSS. have ἔξω : Kol. brackets.

and against a man who is so sagacious a general that 374 B.C.
 whatsoever he undertakes to accomplish, whether it
 be by secrecy, or by getting ahead of an enemy,
 or by sheer force, he is not very apt to fail of his
 object. For he is able to make as good use of
 night as of day, and when he is in haste, to take
 breakfast and dinner together and go on with his
 labours. And he thinks it is proper to rest only
 after he has reached the goal for which he had set
 out and has accomplished the things that are need-
 ful; moreover, he has accustomed his followers also
 to the same habits. Yet he also knows how to satisfy
 the wishes of his soldiers when by added toils they
 have achieved some success; so that all who are
 with him have learned this lesson too, that from
 toils come indulgences. Again, he has greater self-
 control than any man I know as regards the pleasures
 of the body, so that he is not prevented by such
 things, either, from doing always what needs to
 be done. Consider, therefore, and tell me, as be-
 seems you, what you will be able to do and intend
 to do."

Thus he spoke. As for the Lacedaemonians, at
 the time they deferred their answer; but after
 reckoning up on the next day and on the third
 their regiments abroad, to see how many they num-
 bered, and the regiments which were in the vicinity
 of Lacedaemon to be employed against the triremes
 of the Athenians and for the war upon their neigh-
 bours, they replied that at present they could not
 send him an adequate supporting force, and told him
 to go home and arrange his own affairs and those of
 his city as best he could. He, then, after commend-
 ing the straightforwardness of the state, departed.

τητα τῆς πόλεως ἀπῆλθε. καὶ τὴν μὲν ἀκρόπολιν τῶν Φαρσαλίων ἐδεῖτο τοῦ Ἰάσονος μὴ ἀναγκάσαι αὐτὸν παραδοῦναι, ὅπως τοῖς παρακαταθεμένοις διασώξῃ· τοὺς δὲ ἑαυτοῦ παῖδας ἔδωκεν ὁμήρους, ὑποσχόμενος αὐτῷ τὴν τε πόλιν πείσας ἐκοῦσαν σύμμαχον ποιήσειν καὶ ταγὸν συγκαταστήσειν αὐτόν. ὥς δὲ τὰ πιστὰ ἔδοσαν ἀλλήλοις, εὐθύς μὲν οἱ Φαρσάλιοι εἰρήνην ἤγον, ταχὺ δὲ ὁ Ἰάσων ὁμολογουμένως ταγὸς τῶν Θετταλῶν
 19 καθειστήκει. ἐπεὶ γε μὴν ἐτάγευσε, διέταξεν ἵππικόν τε ὅσον ἐκάστη πόλις δυνατὴ ἦν παρέχειν καὶ ὀπλιτικόν. καὶ ἐγένοντο αὐτῷ ἵππεῖς μὲν σὺν τοῖς συμμάχοις πλείους ἢ ὀκτακισχίλιοι, ὀπλίται δὲ ἐλογίσθησαν οὐκ ἐλάττους δισμυρίων, πελταστικὸν γε μὴν ἱκανὸν πρὸς πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἀντιταχθῆναι· ἔργον γὰρ ἐκείνων γε καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἀριθμῆσαι. προεῖπε δὲ τοῖς περιοίκους πᾶσι καὶ τὸν φόρον ὥσπερ ἐπὶ Σκόπα τεταγμένος ἦν φέρειν. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἐπεραίνετο· ἐγὼ δὲ πάλιν ἐπάνειμι, ὅθεν εἰς τὰς περὶ Ἰάσονος πράξεις ἐξέβην.

II. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι συνελέγοντο εἰς τοὺς Φωκέας, οἱ δὲ Θεβαῖοι ἀναχωρήσαντες εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐφύλαττον τὰς εἰσβολάς. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι, αὐξανομένους μὲν ὁρῶντες διὰ σφᾶς τοὺς Θεβαίους, χρήματά τε οὐ συμβαλλομένους εἰς τὸ ναυτικόν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀποκναιόμενοι καὶ χρημάτων εἰσφοραῖς καὶ ληστείαις

And he begged Jason not to force him to give over 374 B.C
the Acropolis of the Pharsalians, his wish being
that he might still keep it safe for those who had
put it into his hands; but he gave his own children
to Jason as hostages, with the promise not only to
win over the city and make it his willing ally, but
also to help in establishing him as Tagus. When,
accordingly, they had exchanged pledges with one
another, the Pharsalians at once observed peace, and
Jason was speedily established by common consent
as Tagus of the Thessalians. Having become Tagus,
he assessed the contingents of cavalry and hoplites
that the cities were to furnish, according to the
ability of each. And the result was that he had more
than eight thousand horsemen, including the allies,
his hoplites were reckoned at not fewer than twenty
thousand, and there were peltasts enough to be set
in array against the whole world; for it is a task
even to enumerate the cities which furnished them.
Further, he sent orders to all who dwelt round about
to pay the same tribute as had been fixed in the
time of Scopas.¹ Thus these events were proceeding
to their issue; I now return to the point at which I
digressed when I took up the story of Jason.

II. The Lacedaemonians, then, and their allies
were gathering together in Phocis, and the Thebans
had withdrawn to their own country and were guard-
ing the passes. As for the Athenians, since they
saw that the Thebans were growing in power through
their help and still were not contributing money for
their fleet, while they were themselves being worn
out by extraordinary taxes, by plundering expeditions

¹ Ruler of Crannon and Tagus of Thessaly in the period of
the Persian wars.

ἐξ Αἰγίνης καὶ φυλακαῖς τῆς χώρας, ἐπεθύμησαν παύσασθαι τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ πέμψαντες πρέσβεις εἰς Λακεδαίμονα εἰρήνην ἐποιήσαντο.

- 2 Εὐθύς δ' ἐκεῖθεν δύο τῶν πρέσβεων πλεύσαντες κατὰ δόγμα τῆς πόλεως εἶπον τῷ Τιμοθέῳ ἀποπλεῖν οἴκαδε ὡς εἰρήνης οὔσης· ὁ δ' ἅμα ἀποπλέων τοὺς τῶν Ζακυνθίων φυγάδας ἀπεβίβασεν εἰς
- 3 τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Ζακύνθιοι πέμψαντες πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἔλεγον οἷα πεπονθότες εἶεν ὑπὸ τοῦ Τιμοθέου, εὐθύς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀδικεῖν τε ἡγοῦντο τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ ναυτικὸν πάλιν κατεσκεύαζον καὶ συνετάττοντο εἰς ἐξήκοντα ναῦς ἀπ' αὐτῆς τε τῆς Λακεδαίμονος καὶ Κορίνθου καὶ Λευκάδος καὶ Ἀμβρακίας καὶ Ἡλιδος καὶ Ζακύνθου καὶ Ἀχαΐας καὶ Ἐπιδαύρου καὶ Τροιζῆνος καὶ Ἐρ-
- 4 μμόνος καὶ Ἀλιῶν. ἐπιστήσαντες δὲ ναύαρχον Μνάσιππον ἐκέλευον τῶν τε ἄλλων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῶν κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν θάλατταν καὶ στρατεύειν ἐπὶ Κέρκυραν. ἔπεμψαν δὲ καὶ πρὸς Διονύσιον διδάσκοντες ὡς καὶ ἐκείνῳ χρήσιμον εἴη τὴν Κέρκυραν μὴ ὑπ' Ἀθηναίοις εἶναι.
- 5 Καὶ ὁ μὲν δὴ Μνάσιππος, ἐπεὶ συνελέγη αὐτῷ τὸ ναυτικόν, ἔπλευσεν εἰς τὴν Κέρκυραν· εἶχε δὲ καὶ μισθοφόρους σὺν τοῖς ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος μετ' αὐτοῦ στρατευομένοις οὐκ ἐλάττους χιλίων καὶ
- 6 πεντακοσίων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπέβη, ἐκράτει τε τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐδῆου ἐξεργασμένην μὲν παγκάλως καὶ πεφυτευμένην τὴν χώραν, μεγαλοπρεπεῖς δὲ οἰκῆσεις

from Aegina, and by guarding their territory, 374 B.C. they conceived a desire to cease from the war, and sending ambassadors to Lacedaemon, concluded peace.

Two of the Athenian ambassadors, acting in accordance with a decree of the state, sailed directly from there and gave orders to Timotheus to sail back home, inasmuch as there was peace; as he was sailing back, however, he landed in their country the exiles of the Zacynthians. And when the Zacynthians in the city sent to the Lacedaemonians and told them the sort of treatment they had received at the hands of Timotheus, the Lacedaemonians immediately deemed the Athenians guilty of wrong-doing, set about preparing a fleet again, and fixed the proportionate contingents, for a total of sixty ships, from Lacedaemon itself, Corinth, Leucas, Ambracia, Elis, Zacynthus, Achaea, Epidaurus, Troezen, Hermion, and Haliae. Then they put Mnasippus in command of this fleet as admiral and directed him to look after all their interests in that part of the sea, and especially to make an expedition against Corcyra. They likewise sent to Dionysius,¹ pointing out that it was advantageous to him also that Corcyra should not be under the Athenians.

Mnasippus, accordingly, as soon as his fleet had been gathered together, set sail to Corcyra; and besides the troops from Lacedaemon who served with him he also had no fewer than one thousand five hundred mercenaries. Now when he had disembarked he was master of the country, laid waste the land, which was most beautifully cultivated and planted, and destroyed magnificent dwellings and

¹ Tyrant of Syracuse.

- καὶ οἰνώνας κατεσκευασμένους ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν· ὥστ' ἔφασαν τοὺς στρατιώτας εἰς τοῦτο τρυφῆς ἐλθεῖν ὥστ' οὐκ ἐθέλειν πίνειν, εἰ μὴ ἀνθοσμίας εἶη. καὶ ἀνδράποδα δὲ καὶ βοσκήματα πάμπολλα
- 7 ἡλίσκετο ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν. ἔπειτα δὲ κατεστρατοπεδεύσατο τῷ μὲν πεζῷ ἐπὶ λόφῳ ἀπέχοντι τῆς πόλεως ὥς πέντε στάδια, πρὸ τῆς χώρας ὄντι, ὅπως ἀποτέμνοιτο ἐντεῦθεν, εἴ τις ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν τῶν Κερκυραίων ἐξίοι· τὸ δὲ ναυτικὸν εἰς τὰ πῖθάτερα τῆς πόλεως κατεστρατοπέδευσε, ἐνθεν ᾧετ' ἂν τὰ προσπλέοντα καὶ προαισθάνεσθαι καὶ διακωλύειν. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ λιμένι,
- 8 ὁπότε μὴ χειμῶν κωλύοι, ἐφώρμει. ἐπολιόρκει μὲν δὴ οὕτω τὴν πόλιν.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ Κερκυραῖοι ἐκ μὲν τῆς γῆς οὐδὲν ἐλάμβανον διὰ τὸ κρατεῖσθαι κατὰ γῆν, κατὰ θάλατταν δὲ οὐδὲν εἰσῆγετο αὐτοῖς διὰ τὸ

9 ναυκρατεῖσθαι, ἐν πολλῇ ἀπορίᾳ ἦσαν. καὶ πέμποντες πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους βοηθεῖν τε ἐδέοντο καὶ ἐδίδασκον ὥς μέγα μὲν ἀγαθὸν ἀποβάλοιεν ἅν, εἰ Κερκύρας στερηθεῖεν, τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις μεγάλην ἂν ἰσχὺν προσβάλοιεν· ἐξ οὐδεμιᾶς γὰρ πόλεως πλήν γε Ἀθηνῶν οὔτε ναὺς οὔτε χρήματα πλείω ἂν γενέσθαι. ἔτι δὲ κεῖσθαι τὴν Κέρκυραν ἐν καλῷ μὲν τοῦ Κορινθιακοῦ κόλπου καὶ τῶν πόλεων αἱ ἐπὶ τοῦτον καθήκουσιν, ἐν καλῷ δὲ τοῦ τὴν Λακωνικὴν χώραν βλάπτειν, ἐν καλλίστῳ δὲ τῆς τε ἀντι-

wine-cellars with which the farms were furnished; 374 B.C. the result was, it was said, that his soldiers became so luxurious that they would not drink any wine unless it had a fine bouquet. Furthermore, very many slaves and cattle were captured on the farms. Afterwards he encamped with his land forces on a hill which was distant from the city about five stadia and situated between the city and the country, so that he might from there intercept any of the Corcyraeans who might try to go out to their lands; then he had the sailors from his ships encamp on the other side of the city, at a point from which he thought they would observe in good time any vessels that approached and prevent their coming in. In addition he also maintained a blockade at the mouth of the harbour when the weather did not interfere. In this way, then, he held the city besieged.

When the Corcyraeans found themselves unable to get anything from their farms because they were overmastered by land, while on the other hand nothing was brought in to them by water because they were overmastered by sea, they were in great straits. Accordingly, sending to the Athenians, they begged them to come to their assistance, and pointed out that they would lose a great advantage if they were deprived of Corcyra, and would add great strength to their enemies; for from no other state, they said, except Athens, could come a greater number of ships or a greater amount of money. Further, Corcyra was situated in a favourable position with respect to the Corinthian Gulf and the states which reach down to its shores, in a favourable position for doing damage to the territory of Laconia, and in an extremely favourable position with respect to Epirus across the

- πέρας Ἡπείρου καὶ τοῦ εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἀπὸ
 10 Σικελίας παράπλου. ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ
 Ἀθηναῖοι ἐνόμισαν ἰσχυρῶς ἐπιμελητέον εἶναι,
 καὶ στρατηγὸν πέμπουσι Κτησικλέα εἰς ἑξακο-
 σίους ἔχοντα πελταστάς, Ἀλκέτου δὲ ἐδεήθησαν
 11 συνδιαβιβάσαι τούτους. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν νυκτὸς
 διακομισθέντες πρὸς τῆς χώρας εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὴν
 πόλιν. ἐψηφίσαντο δὲ καὶ ἐξήκοντα ναῦς πλη-
 ροῦν, Τιμόθεον δ' αὐτῶν στρατηγὸν ἐχειροτόνησαν.
 12 ὁ δ' οὐ δυνάμενος αὐτόθεν τὰς ναῦς πληρῶσαι,
 ἐπὶ νήσων πλεύσας ἐκείθεν ἐπειράτο συμπληροῦν,
 οὐ φαῦλον ἡγούμενος εἶναι ἐπὶ συγκεκροτημένας
 13 ναῦς εἰκῇ περιπλεῦσαι. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι νομί-
 ζοντες αὐτὸν ἀναλοῦν τὸν τῆς ὥρας εἰς τὸν περί-
 πλουν χρόνον, συγγνώμην οὐκ ἔσχον αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ
 παύσαντες αὐτὸν τῆς στρατηγίας Ἰφικράτην
 14 ἀνθαιροῦνται. ὁ δ' ἐπεὶ κατέστη στρατηγός,
 μάλα ὀξέως τὰς ναῦς ἐπληροῦτο καὶ τοὺς τριηρ-
 ἀρχους ἠνάγκαζε. προσέλαβε δὲ παρὰ τῶν Ἀθη-
 ναίων καὶ εἴ ποῦ τις ναῦς περὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἔπλει
 καὶ τὴν Πάραλον καὶ τὴν Σαλαμινίαν, λέγων ὥς
 ἐὰν τὰκεῖ καλῶς γένηται, πολλὰς αὐτοῖς ναῦς
 ἀποπέμψοι. καὶ ἐγένοντο αὐτῷ αἱ ἅπασαι περὶ
 ἑβδομήκοντα.
 15 Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ οἱ Κερκυραῖοι οὕτω
 σφόδρα ἐπείνων ὥστε διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν αὐτο-
 μολούντων ἐκήρυξεν ὁ Μνάσιππος πεπράσθαι
 ὅστις αὐτομολοίῃ. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ἤττον ἡτομό-

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way and the coastwise route from Sicily to Pelopon- 874 B.C.
 nesus. When the Athenians heard these things they
 came to the conclusion that they must give serious
 care to the matter, and they sent out Ctesicles as
 general with about six hundred peltasts and requested
 Alcetas¹ to help to convey them across. Accordingly
 these troops were brought across by night to a place
 in the country of Corcyra, and made their way into
 the city. The Athenians also voted to man sixty
 ships, and elected Timotheus as commander of them.
 But he was unable to man his ships at Athens, and 875 B.C.
 therefore set sail for the islands and endeavoured to
 complete his crews there, thinking that it was a
 serious matter to sail light-heartedly around Pelopon-
 nesus to attack ships with well-trained crews. The
 Athenians, however, believing that he was using up
 the time of the year which was favourable for his
 voyage, did not pardon him, but deposed him from
 his office and chose Iphicrates in his place. As soon
 as he assumed office, he proceeded to man his ships
 expeditiously, and compelled his captains to do their
 duty. He also obtained from the Athenians whatever
 war-ships were cruising here or there in the neigh-
 bourhood of Attica, as well as the Paralus² and the
 Salaminia, saying that if matters in Corcyra turned
 out successfully, he would send them back many
 ships. And his ships amounted in all to about
 seventy.

Meanwhile the Corcyraeans were suffering so
 greatly from hunger that on account of the number
 of the deserters Mnasippus issued a proclamation
 directing that whoever deserted should be sold into
 slavery. And when they kept on deserting none the

¹ *cp.* i. 7.

² *cp.* II. i. 28.

- λουν, τελευτῶν καὶ μαστιγῶν ἀπέπεμπεν. οἱ μέντοι ἔνδοθεν τοὺς γε δούλους οὐκ ἐδέχοντο πάλιν εἰς τὸ τεῖχος, ἀλλὰ πολλοὶ ἔξω ἀπέθνησκον. 16 ὁ δ' αὖ Μνάσιππος ὁρῶν ταῦτα, ἐνόμιζε τε ὅσον οὐκ ἤδη ἔχειν τὴν πόλιν καὶ περὶ τοὺς μισθοφόρους ἐκαινούργει, καὶ τοὺς μὲν τινὰς αὐτῶν ἀπομίσθους ἐπεποιήκει, τοῖς δὲ μένουσι καὶ δυοῖν ἤδη μηνοῖν ὤφειλε τὸν μισθόν, οὐκ ἀπορῶν, ὥς ἐλέγετο, χρημάτων· καὶ γὰρ τῶν πόλεων αἱ 17 πολλαὶ αὐτῷ ἀργύριον ἀντὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔπεμπον, ἅτε καὶ διαποντίου τῆς στρατείας οὔσης. κατιδόντες δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τὰς τε φυλακὰς χεῖρον ἢ πρόσθεν φυλαττομένας ἐσπαρμένους τε κατὰ τὴν χώραν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, 18 ἐπεκδραμόντες τοὺς μὲν τινὰς αὐτῶν ἔλαβον, τοὺς δὲ κατέκοψαν. αἰσθόμενος δὲ ὁ Μνάσιππος, αὐτὸς τε ἔξωπλίζετο καὶ ὅσους εἶχεν ὀπλίτας ἅπασιν ἐβοήθει, καὶ τοὺς λοχαγοὺς καὶ τοὺς ταξιάρχους ἐξάγειν ἐκέλευε τοὺς μισθοφόρους. 19 ἀποκριναμένων δὲ τινῶν λοχαγῶν ὅτι οὐ ῥάδιον εἶη μὴ διδόντας τὰπιτιήδεια πειθομένους παρέχειν, τὸν μὲν τινὰ βακτηρίᾳ, τὸν δὲ τῷ στύρακι ἐπάταξεν. οὕτω μὲν δὴ ἀθύμως ἔχοντες καὶ μισοῦντες αὐτὸν συνεξῆλθον πάντες· ὅπερ ἤκιστα εἰς μάχην συμφέρει.
- 20 Ὁ δ' ἐπεὶ παρετάξατο, αὐτὸς μὲν τοὺς κατὰ τὰς πύλας τῶν πολεμίων τρεψάμενος ἐπεδίωκεν. οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ ἐγγὺς τοῦ τεύχους ἐγένοντο, ἀνέστρεφόν τε καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν μνημάτων ἔβαλλον

less, at last he even tried to drive them back with the scourge. Those in the city, however, would not admit the slaves within the wall again, and many died outside. Now Mnasippus, seeing these things, and believing that he all but had possession of the city already, was trying innovations with his mercenaries. He had before this dismissed some of them from his service, and he now owed those who remained as much as two months' pay. This was not, so it was said, because he lacked money, for most of the states had sent him money instead of men,¹ because it was an overseas expedition. Now the people in the city, observing from their towers that the enemy's posts were less carefully guarded than formerly, and that the men were scattered through the country, made a sally, capturing some of them and cutting down others. When Mnasippus perceived this, he put on his armour and went to the rescue himself, with all the hoplites he had, and at the same time ordered the captains and commanders of divisions to lead forth the mercenaries. And when some captains replied that it was not easy to keep men obedient unless they were given provisions, he struck one of them with a staff and another with the spike of his spear. So it was, then, that when his forces issued from the city with him they were all dispirited and hostile to him—a situation that is by no means conducive to fighting.

Now after he had formed the troops in line, Mnasippus himself turned to flight those of the enemy who were in front of the gates, and pursued them. When, however, these came near the wall, they turned about, and from the tombstones threw spears

¹ Under the arrangement described in v. ii. 21.

- καὶ ἡκόντιζον· ἄλλοι δ' ἐκδραμόντες καθ' ἑτέρας
 21 πύλας ἐπιτίθενται ἀθρόοι τοῖς ἐσχάτοις· οἱ δ' ἐπ'
 ὀκτὼ τεταγμένοι, ἀσθενὲς νομίσαντες τὸ ἄκρον
 τῆς φάλαγγος ἔχειν, ἀναστρέφειν ἐπειρώντο.
 ὥς δ' ἥρξαντο ἐπαναχωρεῖν, οἱ μὲν πολέμιοι ὥς
 φεύγουσιν ἐπέθεντο, οἱ δ' οὐκέτι ἐπανέστρεψαν.
 22 καὶ οἱ ἐχόμενοι δ' αὐτῶν εἰς φυγὴν ὥρμων. ὁ δὲ
 Μνάσιππος τοῖς μὲν πιεζομένοις οὐκ ἐδύνατο
 βοηθεῖν διὰ τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ καταντικρὺ προσκει-
 μένους, ἀεὶ δ' ἐλείπετο σὺν ἐλάττοσι. τέλος δὲ
 οἱ πολέμιοι ἀθρόοι γενόμενοι πάντες ἐπετίθεντο
 τοῖς περὶ τὸν Μνάσιππον, ἥδη μάλα ὀλίγοις οὔσι.
 καὶ οἱ πολῖται ὀρώντες τὸ γιγνόμενον ἐπεξῆσαν.
 23 ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκεῖνον ἀπέκτειναι, ἐδίωκον ἥδη ἅπαντες.
 ἐκινδύνευσαν δ' ἂν καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐλεῖν σὺν
 τῷ χαρακώματι, εἰ μὴ οἱ διώκοντες τὸν ἀγοραῖόν
 τε ὄχλον ἰδόντες καὶ τὸν τῶν θεραπόντων καὶ τὸν
 τῶν ἀνδραπόδων, οἰθθέντες ὀφελὸς τι αὐτῶν εἶναι,
 24 ἀπεστρέφοντο. καὶ τότε μὲν τροπαῖόν τε ἵστα-
 σαν οἱ Κερκυραῖοι τοὺς τε νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους
 ἀπεδίδοσαν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει
 ἐρρωμενέστεροι ἐγεγέννητο, οἱ δ' ἔξω ἐν πάσῃ δὴ
 ἀθυμία ἦσαν. καὶ γὰρ ἐλέγετο ὅτι Ἴφικράτης τε
 ὅσον οὐκ ἤδη παρείη, καὶ οἱ Κερκυραῖοι δὲ τῷ
 25 ὄντι ναῦς ἐπλήρουν. Ὑπερμένης δέ, ὃς ἐτύγ-

¹ The ἀναστροφή involved two movements, (1) a facing about, followed by a march to the rear, and (2) a turning of the line until it stood behind the adjacent troops, thus doubling the depth of the phalanx. In this case the enemy's

and javelins upon the Lacedaemonians; meanwhile 878 B.C. others sallied out by the other gates and in mass formation attacked those who were at the extreme end of the line. These latter, who were drawn up only eight deep, thinking that the outer end of the phalanx was too weak, undertook to swing it around upon itself.¹ But as soon as they began the backward movement, the enemy fell upon them, in the belief that they were in flight, and they did not go on and swing forward; furthermore, those who were next to them also began to flee. As for Mnasippus, while he was unable to aid the troops which were hard pressed, because the enemy was attacking him in front, he was left with an ever smaller number of men. Finally, all of the enemy massed themselves together and charged upon Mnasippus and his troops, which were by this time very few. And the citizens, seeing what was going on, came out to join in the attack. Then after they had killed Mnasippus, all straightway joined in the pursuit. And they probably would have captured the very camp, along with its stockade, had not the pursuers turned back upon seeing the crowd of camp-followers, of attendants, and of slaves, imagining that there was some fighting ability in them. At this time, accordingly, the Corcyraeans set up a trophy and gave back the bodies of the dead under a truce. And after this the people in the city were stouter of heart, while those outside were in the utmost despondency. For there was not only a report that Iphicrates was already practically at hand, but the Corcyraeans were in fact also manning ships. Then attack prevented the accomplishment of the second movement.

- χανεν ἐπιστολιαφόρος τῷ Μνασίππῳ ὢν, τό τε ναυτικὸν πᾶν ὅσον ἦν ἐκεῖ συνεπλήρωσε, καὶ περιπλεύσας πρὸς τὸ χαράκωμα τὰ πλοῖα πάντα γεμίσας τῶν τε ἀνδραπόδων καὶ τῶν χρημάτων ἀπέστελλεν· αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν τε τοῖς ἐπιβάταις καὶ τοῖς περισωθεῖσι τῶν στρατιωτῶν διεφύλαττε τὸ
- 26 χαράκωμα· τέλος δὲ καὶ οὗτοι μάλα τεταραγμένοι ἀναβάντες ἐπὶ τὰς τριήρεις ἀπέπλεον, πολὺν μὲν σῖτον, πολὺν δὲ οἶνον, πολλὰ δὲ ἀνδράποδα καὶ ἀσθενοῦντας στρατιώτας καταλιπόντες· δεινῶς γὰρ ἐπεφόβηντο μὴ καταληφθεῖεν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῇ νήσῳ. καὶ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν εἰς Λευκάδα ἀπεσώθησαν.
- 27 Ὁ δὲ Ἴφικράτης ἐπεὶ ἤρξατο τοῦ περίπλου, ἅμα μὲν ἔπλει, ἅμα δὲ πάντα ὅσα εἰς ναυμαχίαν παρεσκευάζετο· εὐθύς μὲν γὰρ τὰ μεγάλα ἰστία αὐτοῦ κατέλιπεν, ὥς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν πλέων· καὶ τοῖς ἀκατείοις δέ, καὶ εἰ φορὸν πνεῦμα εἶη, ὀλίγα ἐχρήτο· τῇ δὲ κώπῃ τὸν πλοῦν ποιούμενος ἄμεινόν τε τὰ σώματα ἔχειν τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ ἄμεινον
- 28 τὰς ναῦς πλεῖν ἐποίει. πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ὅπη μέλλοι ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι τὸ στράτευμα ἢ δειπνοποιεῖσθαι, ἐπανήγαγεν ἂν τὸ κέρας ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπιστρέψας αὖ καὶ ἀντιπρώρους καταστήσας τὰς τριήρεις ἀπὸ σημείου ἀφίει ἀνθαμιλλᾶσθαι εἰς τὴν γῆν, μέγα δὲ νικητήριον ἦν τὸ πρῶτους καὶ ὕδωρ λαβεῖν καὶ εἶ του ἄλλου ἐδέοντο, καὶ πρῶτους ἀριστῆσαι. τοῖς δ' ὑστάτοις ἀφικομένοις μεγάλη ζημία ἦν τό

Hypermenes, who chanced to be vice-admiral under 878 B.C. Mnasippus, manned fully the entire fleet which he had there, and after sailing round to the stockade and filling all his transports with the slaves and the captured property, sent them off; he himself, however, with his marines and such of the soldiers as had been left alive, kept guard over the stockade; but finally they, too, embarked upon the triremes in great confusion and went sailing off, leaving behind them a great deal of corn, much wine, and many slaves and sick soldiers; for they were exceedingly afraid that they would be caught on the island by the Athenians. And so they reached Leucas in safety.

As for Iphicrates, when he began his voyage around Peloponnesus he went on with all needful preparations for a naval battle as he sailed; for at the outset he had left his large sails behind him at Athens, since he expected to fight, and now, further, he made but slight use of his smaller sails, even if the wind was favourable; by making his voyage, then, with the oar, he kept his men in better condition of body and caused the ships to go faster. Furthermore, whenever the expedition was going to take the noonday or the evening meal at any particular spot, he would often draw back the head of the column from the shore opposite the place in question; then he would turn the line around again, cause the triremes to head toward the land, and start them off at a signal to race to the shore. It was counted a great prize of victory to be the first to get water or anything else they needed, and the first to get their meal. On the other hand, those who reached the shore last incurred a great penalty in

- τε ἐλαττοῦσθαι πᾶσι τούτοις καὶ ὅτι ἀνάγεσθαι ἄμα ἔδει, ἐπεὶ σημήνειε· συνέβαινε γὰρ τοῖς μὲν πρῶτοις ἀφικνουμένοις καθ' ἡσυχίαν ἅπαντα
- 29 ποιεῖν, τοῖς δὲ τελευταίοις διὰ σπουδῆς. φυλακάς γε μὴν, εἰ τύχοι ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ ἀριστοποιούμενος, τὰς μὲν ἐν τῇ γῇ, ὥσπερ προσήκει, καθίστη, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ναυσὶν αἰρόμενος αὐτὸς τοὺς ἰστούς ἀπὸ τούτων ἐσκοπεῖτο. πολὺ οὖν ἐπὶ πλεονούτοις καθεώρων ἢ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ὁμαλοῦ, ἀφ' ὑψηλοτέρου καθορῶντες.¹ ὅπου δὲ δειπνοποιοῖτο καὶ καθεύδοι, ἐν μὲν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ νύκτωρ πῦρ οὐκ ἔκαε, πρὸ δὲ τοῦ στρατεύματος φῶς ἐποίει, ἵνα μηδεὶς λάθῃ προσιών. πολλάκις δέ, εἰ εὐδία εἶη, εὐθύς δειπνήσας ἀνήγετο· καὶ εἰ μὲν αἷρα φέροι, θέοντες ἄμα ἀνεπαύοντο· εἰ δὲ ἐλαύνειν δέοι, κατὰ μέρος
- 30 τοὺς ναύτας ἀνέπαινε. ἐν δὲ τοῖς μεθ' ἡμέραν πλοῖς ἀπὸ σημείων τοτὲ μὲν ἐπὶ κέρως ἦγε, τοτὲ δ' ἐπὶ φάλαγγος· ὥστε ἄμα μὲν ἔπλεον, ἄμα δὲ πάντα ὅσα εἰς ναυμαχίαν καὶ ἡσκηκότες καὶ ἐπιστάμενοι εἰς τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, ὡς ᾤοντο, κατεχομένην θάλατταν ἀφικνούντο. καὶ τὰ μὲν πολλὰ ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ καὶ ἡρίστων καὶ ἐδείπνουν· διὰ δὲ τὸ τἀναγκαῖα μόνον πράττειν καὶ τὰς βοηθείας ἐφθάνειν ἀναγόμενος καὶ ταχὺ ἐπέβαινε.
- 31 Περὶ δὲ τὸν Μνασίππου θάνατον ἐτύγχανεν ὢν τῆς Λακωνικῆς περὶ τὰς Σφαγίας. εἰς τὴν Ἠλείαν

¹ ἀφ' ὑψηλοτέρου καθορῶντες MSS.: Kel. brackets, following Hartman.

that they came off worse in all these points, and in the fact that they had to put to sea again at the same time as the rest when the signal was given; for the result was that those who came in first did everything at their leisure, while those who came in last had to hurry. Again, in setting watches, if he chanced to be taking the midday meal in a hostile country, he posted some on the land, as is proper, but besides he hoisted the masts on the ships and had men keep watch from their tops. These men, therefore, could see much farther, from their higher point of view, than those on the level. Further, wherever he dined or slept, he would not have a fire inside the camp during the night, but kept a light burning in front of his forces, so that no one could approach unobserved. Frequently, however, if it was good weather, he would put to sea again immediately after dining; and if there was a favourable breeze, they sailed and rested at the same time, while if it was necessary to row, he rested the sailors by turns. Again, when he sailed by day, he would lead the fleet, by signals, at one time in column and at another in line of battle; so that, while still pursuing their voyage, they had at the same time practised and become skilled in all the manoeuvres of battle before they reached the sea which, as they supposed, was held by the enemy. And although for the most part they took both their noonday and their evening meals in the enemy's country, nevertheless, by doing only the necessary things, he always got to sea before the enemy's forces arrived to repel him and speedily got under way again.

At the time of Mnasippus' death Iphicrates chanced to be near the Sphagiae¹ in Laconia. Then,

¹ Islands situated off Pylos.

δὲ ἀφικόμενος καὶ παραπλεύσας τὸ τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ στόμα ὑπὸ τὸν Ἰχθὺν καλούμενον ὠρμίσατο. τῇ δ' ὑστεραία ἐντεῦθεν ἀνήγετο ἐπὶ τῆς Κεφαλληνίας, οὕτω καὶ τεταγμένος καὶ τὸν πλοῦν ποιούμενος ὥς, εἰ δέοι, πάντα ὅσα χρὴ παρεσκευασμένος ναυμαχοίη. καὶ γὰρ τὰ περὶ τοῦ Μνασίππου αὐτόπτου μὲν οὐδενὸς ἠκηκόει, ὑπώπτενε δὲ μὴ ἀπάτης ἔνεκα λέγοιτο, καὶ ἐφυλάττετο· ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἀφίκετο εἰς τὴν Κεφαλληνίαν, ἐνταῦθα δὴ σαφῶς ἐπύθετο, καὶ ἀνέπαυε τὸ στράτευμα.

32 Οἶδα μὲν οὖν ὅτι ταῦτα πάντα, ὅταν οἶωνται ναυμαχήσειν ἄνθρωποι, καὶ ἀσκεῖται καὶ μελετᾶται· ἀλλὰ τοῦτο ἐπαινῶ, ὅτι ἐπεὶ ἀφικέσθαι ταχὺ ἔδει ἔνθα τοῖς πολεμίοις ναυμαχήσειν ᾤετο, ἡὔρετο ὅπως μήτε διὰ τὸν πλοῦν ἀνεπιστήμονας εἶναι τῶν εἰς ναυμαχίαν μήτε διὰ τὸ ταῦτα μελετᾶν βραδύτερόν τι ἀφικέσθαι.

33 Καταστρεψάμενος δὲ τὰς ἐν τῇ Κεφαλληνίᾳ πόλεις ἐπλευσεν εἰς Κέρκυραν. ἐκεῖ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ἀκούσας ὅτι προσπλέοιεν δέκα τριήρεις παρὰ Διονυσίου, βοηθήσουσαι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, αὐτὸς ἐλθὼν καὶ σκεψάμενος τῆς χώρας ὅθεν τοὺς τε προσπλέοντας δυνατὸν ἦν ὁρᾶν καὶ τοὺς σημαίνοντας εἰς τὴν πόλιν καταφανεῖς εἶναι,

34 ἐνταῦθα κατέστησε τοὺς σκοπούς. καὶ κείνοις μὲν συνέθετο προσπλεόντων τε καὶ ὁρμούντων ὥς δέοι σημαίνειν. αὐτὸς δὲ τῶν τριηράρχων

after reaching Elis and sailing past the mouth of the Alpheus, he anchored beneath the promontory called Ichthys. From there he put to sea on the following day for Cephallenia, having his fleet in such order and making the voyage in such a way that, if it should be necessary to fight, he should be ready in all essential respects to do so. For he had not heard the news of Mnasippus' death from any eyewitness, but suspected that it was told to deceive him, and hence was on his guard; when he arrived at Cephallenia, however, he there got definite information, and so rested his forces. 873 a.c.

Now I am aware that all these matters of practice and training are customary whenever men expect to engage in a battle by sea, but that which I commend in Iphicrates is this, that when it was incumbent upon him to arrive speedily at the place where he supposed he should fight with the enemy, he discovered a way to keep his men from being either, by reason of the voyage they had made, unskilled in the tactics of fighting at sea, or, by reason of their having been trained in such tactics, any the more tardy in arriving at their destination.

After subduing the cities in Cephallenia he sailed to Corcyra. There, upon hearing that ten triremes were sailing thither from Dionysius to aid the Lacedaemonians, he first went in person and looked over the ground to find a point from which any who approached the island could be seen and the men stationed there to send signals to the city would be visible; he then stationed his watchers at that point. He also agreed with them as to how they were to signal when the enemy were approaching and when they were at anchor. Then he gave his orders to

προσέταξεν εἴκοσιν, οὓς δεήσοι, ἐπεὶ κηρύξειεν, ἀκολουθεῖν· εἰ δέ τις μὴ ἀκολουθήσοι, προεῖπε μὴ μέμψεσθαι τὴν δίκην. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐσημάνθησαν προσπλέουσai καὶ ἐκηρύχθη, ἀξία ἐγένετο θέας ἢ σπουδῇ· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ὅστις οὐ δρόμῳ τῶν μελ-
 35 λόντων πλεῖν εἰσέβη εἰς τὰς ναῦς. πλεύσας δὲ ἔνθα ἦσαν αἱ πολέμιαi τριήρεις, καταλαμβάνει ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων τριήρων εἰς τὴν γῆν τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐκβεβηκότας, Μελάνιππος μέντοι ὁ Ῥόδιος τοῖς τε ἄλλοις συνεβούλευε μὴ μένειν ἐνταῦθα καὶ αὐτὸς πληρωσάμενος τὴν ναῦν ἐξέπλει. ἐκεῖ-
 νος μὲν οὖν καίπερ ἀπαντῶν ταῖς Ἰφικράτους ναυσὶν ὁμῶς ἀπέφυγεν· αἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Συρακουσῶν
 36 νῆες ἅπασαι ἐάλωσαν αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν. ὁ μέντοι Ἰφικράτης τὰς μὲν τριήρεις ἀκρωτηριασάμενος ἔλκων κατηγάγετο εἰς τὸν τῶν Κερκυραίων λιμένα, τῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν συνέβη ἕκαστον τακτὸν ἀργύριον ἀποτεῖσαι, πλὴν Κρινίππου τοῦ ἄρχοντος· τοῦτον δ' ἐφύλαττεν, ὡς ἡ πραξόμενος πάμπολλα χρήματα ἢ ὡς πωλήσων. κακεῖνος μὲν ὑπὸ λύπης αὐθαιρέτῳ θανάτῳ ἀποθνήσκει, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ὁ Ἰφικράτης ἀφῆκε, Κερκυραίους
 37 ἐγγυητὰς δεξάμενος τῶν χρημάτων. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ναύτας γεωργοῦντας τοῖς Κερκυραίοις τὸ πλεῖστον διέτρεφε, τοὺς δὲ πελταστὰς καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν ὀπλίτας ἔχων διέβαινεν εἰς τὴν Ἀκαρνανίαν· καὶ ἐκεῖ ταῖς μὲν φιλίαις πόλεσιν ἐπεκούρει, εἴ τίς τι δέοιτο, Θυριεῦσι δέ, μάλα καὶ ἀνδράσιν ἀλκίμοις καὶ χωρίον καρτερόν

twenty of the captains, whose duty it should be to follow him when the herald gave the word; and in case anyone failed to follow, he warned him that he would not have occasion to find fault with his punishment. Now when the signal came that the triremes were approaching, and when the word was given by the herald, the ardour of all was a sight worth seeing; for there was no one among those who were to sail who did not run to get aboard his ship. When Iphicrates had reached the place where the enemy's triremes were, he found the crews of all save one already disembarked on the shore, but Melanippus, the Rhodian, had not only advised the others not to remain there, but had manned his own ship and was sailing out to sea. Now although he met the ships of Iphicrates, he nevertheless escaped, but all the ships from Syracuse were captured, along with their crews. Thereupon Iphicrates cut off the beaks and towed the triremes into the harbour of Corcyra; as for the crews, he concluded an agreement that each man should pay a fixed ransom, with the exception of Crinippus the commander, whom he kept under guard, intending either to exact a very large ransom or to sell him. Crinippus, however, was so mortified that he died by a self-inflicted death, and Iphicrates let the rest go, accepting Corcyraeans as sureties for the ransoms. Now he maintained his sailors for the most part by having them work for the Corcyraeans on their lands; the pel-tasts, however, and the hoplites from his ships he took with him and crossed over to Acarnania. There he gave aid to the cities which were friendly, in case any of them needed aid, and made war upon the Thyrians, who were very valiant men and were in

38 ἔχουσιν, ἐπολέμει. καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ Κερκύρας ναυ-
τικὸν προσλαβὼν, σχεδὸν περὶ ἐνενῆκοντα ναῦς,
πρῶτον μὲν εἰς Κεφαλληνίαν πλεύσας χρήματα
ἐπράξατο, τὰ μὲν παρ' ἐκόντων, τὰ δὲ παρ'
ἀκόντων· ἔπειτα δὲ παρεσκευάζετο τήν τε τῶν
Λακεδαιμονίων χώραν κακῶς ποιεῖν καὶ τῶν
ἄλλων τῶν κατ' ἐκείνα πόλεων πολεμίων οὐσῶν
τὰς μὲν ἐθελούσας προσλαμβάνειν, τοῖς δὲ μὴ
πειθομένοις πολεμεῖν.

39 Ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ ταύτην τὴν στρατηγίαν τῶν Ἴφι-
κράτους οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐπαινῶ, ἔπειτα καὶ τὸ προσ-
ελέσθαι κελεύσαι ἑαυτῷ Καλλίστρατόν τε τὸν
δημηγόρον, οὐ μάλα ἐπιτήδειον ὄντα, καὶ Χαβρίαν,
μάλα στρατηγὸν νομιζόμενον. εἴτε γὰρ φρονί-
μους αὐτοὺς ἡγούμενος εἶναι συμβούλους λαβεῖν
ἐβούλετο, σῶφρόν μοι δοκεῖ διαπράξασθαι, εἴτε
ἀντιπάλους νομίζων, οὕτω θρασέως¹ μήτε καταρα-
θυμῶν μήτε καταμελῶν μηδὲν φαίνεσθαι, μέγα
φρονούντος ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ τοῦτό μοι δοκεῖ ἀνδρὸς
εἶναι. καὶ κείνος μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἔπραττεν.

III. Οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐκπεπτωκότας μὲν ὁρῶν-
τες ἐκ τῆς Βοιωτίας Πλαταιᾶς φίλους ὄντας,
καὶ καταπεφευγότας πρὸς αὐτούς, ἰκετεύοντας δὲ
Θεσπιᾶς μὴ σφᾶς περιδεῖν ἀπόλιδας γενομένους,
οὐκέτι ἐπῆνουν τοὺς Θηβαίους, ἀλλὰ πολεμεῖν

¹ θρασέως: Kel. inserts after it ἔπραττεν ὥς.

possession of a very strong fortress. Furthermore, 872 B.C.
 he took over the fleet which was at Corcyra, and
 with almost ninety¹ ships first sailed to Cephallenia
 and collected money, in some cases with the consent
 of the people, in other cases against their will. Then
 he made preparations to inflict damage upon the
 territory of the Lacedaemonians, and to bring over
 to his side such of the other hostile states in that
 region as were willing and to make war upon such as
 would not yield.

Now for my part I not only commend this cam-
 paign in particular among all the campaigns of
 Iphicrates, but I commend, further, his directing the
 Athenians to choose as his colleagues Callistratus,
 the popular orator, who was not very favourably in-
 clined toward him, and Chabrias, who was regarded
 as a very good general. For if he thought them to
 be able men and hence wished to take them as ad-
 visers, he seems to me to have done a wise thing,
 while on the other hand if he believed them to be
 his adversaries and wished in so bold a way to prove
 that he was neither remiss nor neglectful in any
 point, this seems to me to be the act of a man pos-
 sessed of great confidence in himself. He, then,
 was occupied with these things.

III. Meanwhile the Athenians, seeing that the 871 B.C.
 Plataeans, who were their friends, had been expelled
 from Boeotia and had fled to them for refuge, and
 that the Thespians were beseeching them not to
 allow them to be left without a city, no longer
 commended the Thebans, but, on the contrary,

¹ The fleet of the Corcyraeans (*cp.* § 24 above) having been
 added to Iphicrates' original seventy (§ 14) ships. The text,
 however, appears to be faulty.

- μεν αὐτοῖς τὰ μὲν ἡσχύνοντο, τὰ δὲ ἀσυμφόρως ἔχειν ἐλογίζοντο· κοινωνεῖν γε μὴν αὐτοῖς ὧν ἔπραττον οὐκέτι ἤθελον, ἐπεὶ ἐώρων στρατεύοντάς τε αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ φίλους ἀρχαίους τῇ πόλει Φωκέας, καὶ πόλεις πιστάς τ' ἐν τῷ πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον
- 2 πολέμῳ καὶ φίλας ἑαυτοῖς ἀφανίζοντας. ἐκ τούτων δὲ ψηφισάμενος ὁ δῆμος εἰρήνην ποιεῖσθαι, πρῶτον μὲν εἰς Θήβας πρέσβεις ἔπεμψε παρακαλοῦντας ἀκολουθεῖν, εἰ βούλονται, εἰς Λακεδαίμονα περὶ εἰρήνης· ἔπειτα δὲ ἐξέπεμψαν καὶ αὐτοὶ πρέσβεις. ἦν δὲ τῶν αἰρεθέντων Καλλίας Ἰππονίκου, Αὐτοκλῆς Στρομβιχίδου, Δημόστρατος Ἀριστοφώντος, Ἀριστοκλῆς, Κηφισόδοτος, Μελάνω-
- 3 πος, Λύκαιθος.¹ καὶ ² Καλλίστρατος δὲ ὁ δημογόρος παρῆν· ὑποσχόμενος γὰρ Ἴφικράτει, εἰ αὐτὸν ἀφείη, ἢ χρήματα πέμψειν τῷ ναυτικῷ ἢ εἰρήνην ποιήσειν, οὕτως Ἀθήνησί τε ἦν καὶ ἔπραττε περὶ εἰρήνης· ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέστησαν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐκκλήτους τε τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους, πρῶτος ἔλεξεν αὐτῶν Καλλίας ὁ δαδούχος. ἦν δ' οὗτος οἷος μηδὲν ἡττον ἡδεσθαι ὑφ' αὐτοῦ ἢ ὑπ' ἄλλων ἐπαινούμενος· καὶ τότε δὴ ἤρξατο ὧδέ πως.
- 4 Ὡς ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τὴν μὲν προξενίαν ὑμῶν οὐκ ἐγὼ ἔχω ³ μόνος, ἀλλὰ καὶ πατρός

¹ After Λύκαιθος the MSS. proceed: ἐπεὶ δὲ προσῆλθον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐκκλήτους τε τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους. These words are dropped by Kel. and almost all editors, after Cobet. ² Inserted by Kel., following Köppen.

³ Inserted by Kel., following Fritzsche.

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while they were partly ashamed to make war upon them and partly reckoned it to be inexpedient, they nevertheless refused any longer to take part with them in what they were doing, inasmuch as they saw that they were campaigning against the Phocians, who were old friends of the Athenians, and were annihilating cities which had been faithful in the war against the barbarian¹ and were friendly to Athens. For these reasons the Athenian people voted to make peace, and in the first place sent ambassadors to Thebes to invite the Thebans to go with them to Lacedaemon to treat for peace if they so desired; then they sent ambassadors to Lacedaemon themselves. Among those who were chosen were Callias, the son of Hipponicus; Autocles, the son of Strombichides; Demostratus, the son of Aristophon; Aristocles, Cephisodotus, Melanopus, and Lycaethus. Callistratus, the popular orator, also went with the embassy; for he had promised Iphicrates that if he would let him go home, he would either send money for the fleet or bring about peace, and consequently he had been at Athens and engaged in efforts to secure peace; and when the ambassadors came before the assembly of the Lacedaemonians and the representatives of their allies, the first of them who spoke was Callias, the torch-bearer.² He was the sort of man to enjoy no less being praised by himself than by others, and on this occasion he began in about the following words:

“Men of Lacedaemon, as regards the position I hold as your diplomatic agent, I am not the only member of our family who has held it, but my

¹ The Plataeans and Thespians had, in fact, won especial distinction in the Persian wars.

² Of the Eleusinian mysteries. *cp.* II. iv. 20.

πατὴρ πατρώαν ἔχων παρεδίδου τῷ γένει· βού-
 λομαι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ὑμῖν δηλῶσαι, ὥς ἔχουσα ἡ
 πόλις διατελεῖ πρὸς ἡμᾶς. ἐκείνη γάρ, ὅταν μὲν
 πόλεμος ᾖ, στρατηγούς ἡμᾶς αἰρεῖται, ὅταν δὲ
 ἡσυχίας ἐπιθυμήσῃ, εἰρηνοποιούς ἡμᾶς ἐκπέμπει.
 καὶ γὰρ πρόσθεν δις ἤδη ἦλθον περὶ πολέμου κατα-
 λύσεως, καὶ ἐν ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς πρεσβείαις διε-
 πραξάμην καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ ἡμῖν εἰρήνην· νῦν δὲ
 5 τρίτον ἤκω, καὶ ἡγοῦμαι πολὺ δικαιότατα νῦν ἂν
 διαλλαγῆς τυχεῖν. ὁρῶ γὰρ οὐκ ἄλλα μὲν ὑμῖν,
 ἄλλα δὲ ἡμῖν δοκοῦντα, ἀλλ' ὑμᾶς τε ἀχθομένους
 καὶ ἡμᾶς τῇ Πλαταιῶν τε καὶ Θεσπιῶν ἀναιρέσει.
 πῶς οὖν οὐκ εἰκὸς τὰ αὐτὰ γιγνώσκοντας φίλους
 μᾶλλον ἀλλήλοις ἢ πολεμίους εἶναι; καὶ σωφρό-
 νων μὲν δήπου ἐστὶ μηδὲ εἰ μικρὰ τὰ διαφέροντα
 εἶη πόλεμον ἀναιρεῖσθαι· εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ ὁμογνώ-
 μονοῖμεν,¹ οὐκ ἂν πάνυ τῶν θαυμαστῶν εἶη μὴ
 6 εἰρήνην ποιεῖσθαι; δίκαιον μὲν οὖν ἦν μηδὲ ὄπλα
 ἐπιφέρειν ἀλλήλοις ἡμᾶς, ἐπεὶ λέγεται μὲν Τρι-
 πτόλεμος ὁ ἡμέτερος πρόγονος τὰ Δήμητρος καὶ
 Κόρης ἄρρητα ἱερὰ πρῶτοις ξένοις δεῖξαι Ἑρα-
 κλεῖ τε τῷ ὑμετέρῳ ἀρχηγέτῃ καὶ Διοσκούροιν
 τοῖν ὑμετέροιν πολίταιν, καὶ τοῦ Δήμητρος δὲ
 καρποῦ εἰς πρώτην τὴν Πελοπόννησον σπέρμα

¹ ὁμογνώμονοῖμεν MSS.: ὁμογνώμονοῖεν Kel.

¹ Triptolemus of Eleusis had, according to the legend, carried from Attica throughout Greece both the cult of

father's father received it from his father and handed 871 a.c
it on to his descendants; and I also wish to make
clear to you how highly esteemed we have been by
our own state. For whenever there is war she
chooses us as generals, and whenever she becomes
desirous of tranquillity she sends us out as peace-
makers. I, for example, have twice before now come
here to treat for a termination of war, and on both
these embassies I succeeded in achieving peace both
for you and for ourselves; now for a third time I
am come, and it is now, I believe, that with greater
justice than ever before I should obtain a reconcilia-
tion between us. For I see that you do not think
one way and we another, but that you as well as we
are distressed over the destruction of Plataea and
Thespieae. How, then, is it not fitting that men who
hold the same views should be friends of one another
rather than enemies? Again, it is certainly the
part of wise men not to undertake war even if they
should have differences, if they be slight; but if, in
fact, we should actually find ourselves in complete
agreement, should we not be astounding fools not
to make peace? The right course, indeed, would
have been for us not to take up arms against one
another in the beginning, since the tradition is
that the first strangers to whom Triptolemus,¹ our
ancestor, revealed the mystic rites of Demeter and
Core were Heracles, your state's founder, and the
Dioscuri, your citizens; and, further, that it was
upon Peloponnesus that he first bestowed the seed

Demeter and the knowledge of her art—agriculture. Heracles
was the traditional ancestor of the Spartan kings (*cp.* III. iii.
3), while the Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux, were putative sons
of Tyndareus of Sparta.

δωρήσασθαι. πῶς οὖν δίκαιον ἢ ὑμᾶς, παρ' ὧν ἐλάβετε σπέρματα, τὸν τούτων ποτὲ καρπὸν ἐλθεῖν δηώσοντας, ἡμᾶς τε, οἷς ἐδώκαμεν, μὴ οὐχὶ βούλεσθαι ὥς πλείστην τούτοις ἀφθονίαν τροφῆς γενέσθαι; εἰ δὲ ἄρα ἐκ θεῶν πεπρωμένον ἐστὶ πολέμους ἐν ἀνθρώποις γίγνεσθαι, ἡμᾶς δὲ¹ χρὴ ἄρχεσθαι μὲν αὐτοῦ ὥς σχολαίτατα, ὅταν δὲ γένηται, καταλύεσθαι ἢ δυνατὸν τάχιστα.

- 7 Μετὰ τοῦτον Αὐτοκλήης, μάλα δοκῶν ἐπιστροφῆς εἶναι ῥήτωρ, ὧδε ἠγόρευεν· Ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ὅτι μὲν ἂ μέλλω λέγειν οὐ πρὸς χάριν ὑμῖν ῥηθήσεται οὐκ ἄγνοῶ· ἀλλὰ δοκεῖ μοι, οἵτινες βούλονται, ἦν ἂν ποιήσωνται φιλίαν, ταύτην ὥς πλείστον χρόνον διαμένειν, διδακτέον εἶναι ἀλλήλους τὰ αἴτια τῶν πολέμων. ὑμεῖς δὲ ἀεὶ μὲν φατε· Αὐτονόμους τὰς πόλεις χρὴ εἶναι, αὐτοὶ δ' ἐστὲ μάλιστα ἐμποδὼν τῇ αὐτονομίᾳ. συντίθεσθε μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τὰς συμμαχίδας πόλεις τοῦτο πρῶτον, ἀκολουθεῖν ὅποι ἂν ὑμεῖς ἠγῆσθε.
- 8 καίτοι τί τοῦτο αὐτονομία προσήκει; ποιείσθε δὲ πολεμίους οὐκ ἀνακοινούμενοι τοῖς συμμάχοις, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτους ἠγεῖσθε· ὥστε πολλάκις ἐπὶ τοὺς εὐμενεστάτους ἀναγκάζονται στρατεύειν οἱ λεγόμενοι αὐτόνομοι εἶναι. ἔτι δὲ τὸ πάντων ἐναντιώτατον αὐτονομία, καθίστατε ἔνθα μὲν δεκαρχίας, ἔνθα δὲ τριακονταρχίας· καὶ τούτων τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐπιμελεῖσθε οὐχ ὅπως νομίμως ἄρχωσιν, ἀλλ' ὅπως δύνωνται βία κατέχειν τὰς πόλεις.

¹ δὲ MSS.: δὴ Kel.

of Demeter's fruit. How, then, can it be right, 371 B.C.
either that you should ever come to destroy the
fruit of those very men from whom you received the
seed, or that we should not desire those very men,
to whom we gave the seed, to obtain the greatest
possible abundance of food? But if it is indeed
ordered of the gods that wars should come among
men, then we ought to begin war as tardily as we
can, and, when it has come, to bring it to an end as
speedily as possible."

After him Autocles, who had the reputation of
being a very incisive orator, spoke as follows: "Men
of Lacedaemon, that what I am about to say will
not be said to your pleasure, I am not unaware; but it
seems to me that men who desire the friendship which
they may establish to endure for the longest possible
time, ought to point out to one another the causes
of their wars. Now you always say, 'The cities must
be independent,' but you are yourselves the greatest
obstacle in the way of their independence. For the
first stipulation you make with your allied cities is
this, that they follow wherever you may lead. And
yet how is this consistent with independence? And
you make for yourselves enemies without taking
counsel with your allies, and against those enemies
you lead them; so that frequently they who are said
to be independent are compelled to take the field
against men most friendly to themselves. Further-
more—and there can be nothing in the world more
opposed to independence—you establish governments
of ten here and governments of thirty there; and in
the case of these rulers your care is, not that they
shall rule according to law, but that they shall be able
to hold possession of their cities by force. So that

- ὥστ' εἰκόκατε τυραννίσι μάλλον ἢ πολιτείαις
 9 ἡδόμενοι. καὶ ὅτε μὲν βασιλεὺς προσέταττεν
 αὐτονόμους τὰς πόλεις εἶναι, μάλα γιγνώσκοντες
 ἐφαίνεσθε ὅτι εἰ μὴ εἰσίοιεν οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἐκάστην
 τῶν πόλεων ἄρχειν τε ἑαυτῆς καὶ οἷς ἂν βούληται
 νόμοις χρῆσθαι, οὐ ποιήσουσι κατὰ τὰ βασιλέως
 γράμματα· ἐπεὶ δὲ παρελάβετε τὴν Καδμείαν,
 οὐδ' αὐτοῖς Θηβαίοις ἐπετρέπετε αὐτονόμους εἶναι.
 δεῖ δὲ τοὺς μέλλοντας φίλους ἔσεσθαι οὐ παρὰ
 τῶν ἄλλων μὲν ἀξιοῦν τῶν δικαίων τυγχάνειν,
 αὐτοὺς δὲ ὅπως ἂν πλείστα δύνωνται πλεονε-
 κτοῦντας φαίνεσθαι.
- 10 Ταῦτα εἰπὼν σιωπὴν μὲν παρὰ πάντων ἐποί-
 ησεν, ἡδομένους δὲ τοὺς ἀχθομένους τοῖς Λακε-
 δαιμονίοις ἐποίησε. μετὰ τοῦτον Καλλίστρατος
 ἔλεξεν· Ἄλλ' ὅπως μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι,
 οὐκ ἐγγεγένηται ἁμαρτήματα καὶ ἀφ' ἡμῶν καὶ
 ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἔχειν μοι δοκῶ εἰπεῖν·
 οὐ μέντοι οὕτω γιγνώσκω ὡς τοῖς ἁμαρτάνουσιν
 οὐδέποτε ἔτι χρηστέον. ὁρῶ γὰρ τῶν ἀνθρώπων
 οὐδένα ἀναμάρτητον διατελοῦντα. δοκοῦσι δὲ
 μοι καὶ εὐπορώτεροι ἐνίοτε γίγνεσθαι ἄνθρωποι
 ἁμαρτάνοντες, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐὰν κολασθῶσιν ὑπὸ
 11 τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων, ὡς ἡμεῖς. καὶ ὑμῖν δὲ ἔγωγε
 ὁρῶ διὰ τὰ ἀγνωμόνως πραχθέντα ἔστιν ὅτε
 πολλὰ ἀντίτυπα γιγνόμενα· ὣν ἦν καὶ ἡ κατα-
 ληφθεῖσα ἐν Θήβαις Καδμεία· νῦν γοῦν, ἃς
 ἐσπουδάσατε αὐτονόμους πόλεις¹ γενέσθαι, πᾶ-
 σαι πάλιν, ἐπεὶ ἡδικήθησαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι, ἐπ'

¹ ἃς . . . πόλεις Breitenbach : ὡς . . . τὰς πόλεις MSS. : οἷς
 . . . τὰς πόλεις Kel.

you manifestly take pleasure in despotisms rather 871 a.c.
 than in free governments. Again, when the King directed that the cities be independent, you showed yourselves strongly of the opinion that if the Thebans did not allow each one of their cities, not only to rule itself, but also to live under whatever laws it chose, they would not be acting in accordance with the King's writing; but when you had seized the Cadmea, you did not permit even the Thebans themselves to be independent. The right thing, however, is that those who are going to be friends should not insist upon obtaining their full rights from others, and then show themselves disposed to grasp the most they can."

By these words he caused silence on the part of all, while at the same time he gave pleasure to those who were angry with the Lacedaemonians. After him Callistratus said: "Men of Lacedaemon, that mistakes have not been made, both on our side and on yours, I for one do not think I could assert; but I do not hold to the opinion that one ought never again to have any dealings with people who make mistakes. For I see that no one in the world remains always free from error. And it seems to me that through making mistakes men sometimes become even easier to deal with, especially if they have incurred punishment in consequence of their mistakes, as we have. In your own case, also, I see that sometimes many reverses result from the things you have done with too little judgment, among which was, in fact, the seizure of the Cadmea in Thebes; now, at any rate, the cities which you were eager to make independent have all, in consequence of the wrong done to the Thebans, fallen again under their

- ἐκείνοις γεγέννηται. ὥστε πεπαιδευμένους ἡμᾶς ὡς τὸ πλεονεκτεῖν ἀκερδές ἐστι νῦν ἐλπίζω πάλιν
- 12 μετρίους ἐν τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους φιλίᾳ ἔσεσθαι. ἃ δὲ βουλόμενοί τινες ἀποτρέπειν τὴν εἰρήνην διαβάλλουσιν, ὡς ἡμεῖς οὐ φιλίας δεόμενοι, ἀλλὰ φοβούμενοι μὴ Ἀνταλκίδας ἔλθῃ ἔχων παρὰ βασιλέως χρήματα, διὰ τοῦθ' ἤκομεν, ἐνθυμήθητε ὡς φλυαροῦσι. βασιλεὺς μὲν γὰρ δήπου ἔγραψε πάσας τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι πόλεις αὐτονόμους εἶναι· ἡμεῖς δὲ ταῦτα ἐκείνῳ λέγοντές τε καὶ πράττοντες τί ἂν φοβοίμεθα βασιλέα; ἢ τοῦτο οἶεταιί τις, ὡς ἐκείνος βούλεται χρήματα ἀναλώσας ἄλλους μεγάλους ποιῆσαι μᾶλλον ἢ ἄνευ δαπάνης ἃ ἔγνω ἄριστα εἶναι, ταῦτα ἑαυτῷ πεπραῆχθαι;
- 13 Εἶπεν. τί μὴν ἤκομεν; ὅτι μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἀπορῶντες γνοίητε ἅν, εἰ μὲν βούλεσθε, πρὸς τὰ κατὰ θάλατταν ἰδόντες, εἰ δὲ βούλεσθε, πρὸς τὰ κατὰ γῆν ἐν τῷ παρόντι. τί μὴν ἐστίν; εὐδηλον ὅτι τῶν συμμάχων τινὲς οὐκ ἄρεστά πράττουσιν ἡμῖν.¹ ἴσως δὲ καὶ βουλοίμεθ' ἂν ὧν ἔνεκα περισώσατε ἡμᾶς ἃ ὀρθῶς ἔγνωμεν² ὑμῖν ἐπιδείξαι.
- 14 ἵνα δὲ καὶ τοῦ συμφόρου ἔτι ἐπιμνησθῶ, εἰσὶ μὲν δήπου πασῶν τῶν πόλεων αἱ μὲν τὰ ὑμέτερα, αἱ δὲ τὰ ἡμέτερα φρονοῦσαι, καὶ ἐν ἐκάστη πόλει οἱ μὲν λακωνίζουσιν, οἱ δὲ ἀττικίζουσιν. εἰ οὖν

¹ εὐδηλον ὅτι . . ἡμῖν Kurz: εὐδηλον ὅτι εἰ . . ἡμῖν ἢ ὑμῖν ἄρεστά MSS., which Kel. retains, while marking the passage as corrupt.

² ἃ ὀρθῶς ἔγνωμεν MSS.: ὡς ὀρθῶς ἔγνωτε Kel.

power. Hence I hope that now, when we have been 371 B.C.
taught that to seek selfish advantage is unprofitable,
we shall again be reasonable in our friendship with
each other. Now touching the slanderous allega-
tions of certain people who wish to defeat the peace,
to the effect that we have come here, not because we
desire friendship, but rather because we fear that
Antalcidas may arrive with money from the King,
consider how foolishly they are talking. For the
King directed, as you know, that all the cities in
Greece were to be independent; why then should
we, who agree with the King in both word and
deed, be afraid of him? Or does anyone imagine
that the King prefers to spend money and make
others great, rather than, without expense, to have
those things accomplished for him which he judged
to be best?

“So much for that. Why, then, have we come?
That it surely is not because we are in straits, you
could discover, if you please, by looking at the situa-
tion by sea or, if you please, at the situation by land
at the present time. What, then, is the reason?
Manifestly that some of our allies are doing what is
not pleasing to us. And perhaps we also should
like to show you the gratitude we rightly conceived
toward you because you preserved us.¹ Further-
more, to mention also the matter of expediency,
there are, of course, among all the cities of Greece,
some that take your side and others that take ours,
and in each single city some people favour the Lace-
daemonians and others the Athenians. If, therefore,

¹ At the close of the Peloponnesian war the Lacedae-
monians rejected the proposal urged by many of their allies,
that Athens should be destroyed. *cp.* II. ii. 19, 20.

- ἡμεῖς φίλοι γενοίμεθα, πόθεν ἂν εἰκότως χαλεπὸν τι προσδοκῆσαιμεν; καὶ γὰρ δὴ κατὰ γῆν μὲν τίς ἂν ὑμῶν φίλων ὄντων ἱκανὸς γένοιτο ἡμᾶς λυπῆσαι; κατὰ θάλατταν γε μὴν τίς ἂν ὑμᾶς βλάβῃαι
- 15 τι ἡμῶν ὑμῖν ἐπιτηδείων ὄντων; ἀλλὰ μέντοι ὅτι μὲν πόλεμοι αἰεὶ ποτε γίνονται καὶ ὅτι καταλύονται πάντες ἐπιστάμεθα, καὶ ὅτι ἡμεῖς, ἂν μὴ νῦν, ἀλλ' αὐθὺς ποτε εἰρήνης ἐπιθυμήσομεν. τί οὖν δεῖ ἐκείνους τὸν χρόνον ἀναμένειν, ἕως ἂν ὑπὸ πλήθους κακῶν ἀπείπωμεν, μᾶλλον ἢ οὐχ ὡς τάχιστα πρὶν τι ἀνήκεστον γενέσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην
- 16 ποιήσασθαι; ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδ' ἐκείνους ἔγωγε ἐπαινῶ οὔτινες ἀγωνισταὶ γενόμενοι καὶ νενικηκότες ἤδη πολλάκις καὶ δόξαν ἔχοντες οὕτω φιλονικοῦσιν ὥστε οὐ πρότερον παύονται, πρὶν ἂν ἡττηθέντες τὴν ἀσκησιν καταλύσωσιν, οὐδέ γε τῶν κυβευτῶν οὔτινες αὖ ἐὰν ἓν τι ἐπιτύχωσι, περὶ διπλασίων κυβεύουσιν· ὁρῶ γὰρ καὶ τῶν τοιούτων τοὺς
- 17 πλείους ἀπόρους παντάπασι γιγνομένους. ἂν χρὴ καὶ ἡμᾶς ὁρῶντας εἰς μὲν τοιοῦτον ἀγῶνα μηδέποτε καταστῆναι, ὥστ' ἢ πάντα λαβεῖν ἢ πάντ' ἀποβαλεῖν, ἕως δὲ καὶ ἐρρώμεθα καὶ εὐτυχοῦμεν, φίλους ἀλλήλοις γενέσθαι. οὕτω γὰρ ἡμεῖς τ' ἂν δι' ὑμᾶς καὶ ὑμεῖς δι' ἡμᾶς ἔτι μείζους ἢ τὸν παρελθόντα χρόνον ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἀναστρεφοίμεθα.
- 18 Δοξάντων δὲ τούτων καλῶς εἰπεῖν, ἐψηφίσαντο καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι δέχεσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην, ἐφ' ᾧ τοὺς τε ἄρμοστὰς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἐξάγειν, τά τε στρατόπεδα διαλύειν καὶ τὰ ναυτικά καὶ τὰ πεζικά, τὰς τε πύλεις αὐτονόμους εἶναι. εἰ δέ τις παρὰ ταῦτα ποιοίη, τὸν μὲν βουλόμενον βοηθεῖν

we should become friends, from what quarter could we with reason expect any trouble? For who could prove strong enough to vex us by land if you were our friends? And who could do you any harm by sea if we were favourably inclined toward you? Moreover, we all know that wars are forever breaking out and being concluded, and that we—if not now, still at some future time—shall desire peace again. Why, then, should we wait for the time when we shall have become exhausted by a multitude of ills, and not rather conclude peace as quickly as possible before anything irremediable happens? Again, I for my part do not commend those men who, when they have become competitors in the games and have already been victorious many times and enjoy fame, are so fond of contest that they do not stop until they are defeated and so end their athletic training; nor on the other hand do I commend those dicers who, if they win one success, throw for double stakes, for I see that the majority of such people become utterly impoverished. We, then, seeing these things, ought never to engage in a contest of such a sort that we shall either win all or lose all, but ought rather to become friends of one another while we are still strong and successful. For thus we through you, and you through us, could play even a greater part in Greece than in times gone by."

Since these men were adjudged to have spoken rightly, the Lacedaemonians voted to accept the peace, with the provision that all should withdraw their governors from the cities, disband their armaments both on sea and on land, and leave the cities independent. And if any state should act in violation of this agreement, it was provided that any which so

871 a.c.

- ταῖς ἀδικουμέναις πόλεσι, τῷ δὲ μὴ βουλομένῳ
μὴ εἶναι ἔνορκον συμμαχεῖν τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις.
- 19 ἐπὶ τούτοις ὤμοσαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν ὑπὲρ αὐ-
τῶν καὶ τῶν συμμάχων, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ οἱ σύμ-
μαχοι κατὰ πόλεις ἕκαστοι. ἀπογραφάμενοι δ'
ἐν ταῖς ὁμωμοκυΐαις πόλεσι καὶ οἱ Θηβαῖοι, προσ-
ελθόντες πάλιν τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ οἱ πρέσβεις αὐτῶν
ἐκέλευον μεταγράφειν ἀντὶ Θηβαίων Βοιωτοὺς
ὁμωμοκότας. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι
μεταγράψει μὲν οὐδὲν ὦν τὸ πρῶτον ὤμοσάν τε
καὶ ἀπεγράψαντο· εἰ μέντοι μὴ βούλονται ἐν ταῖς
σπονδαῖς εἶναι, ἐξαλείφειν ἂν ἔφη, εἰ κελεύοιεν.
- 20 οὕτω δὲ εἰρήνην τῶν ἄλλων πεποιημένων, πρὸς δὲ
Θηβαίους μόνους ἀντιλογίας οὔσης, οἱ μὲν Ἀθη-
ναῖοι οὕτως εἶχον τὴν γνώμην ὥς νῦν Θηβαίους
τὸ λεγόμενον δὴ δεκατευθῆναι ἐλπίς εἴη, αὐτοὶ δὲ
οἱ Θηβαῖοι παντελῶς ἀθύμως ἔχοντες ἀπῆλθον.

IV. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι τὰς τε
φρουράς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἀπήγον καὶ Ἰφικράτην
καὶ τὰς ναῦς μετεπέμποντο, καὶ ὅσα ὕστερον
ἔλαβε μετὰ τοὺς ὄρκους τοὺς ἐν Λακεδαίμονι
2 γενομένους, πάντα ἠνάγκασαν ἀποδοῦναι. Λακε-
δαιμόνιοι μέντοι ἐκ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων τοὺς
τε ἄρμοστὰς καὶ τοὺς φρουροὺς ἀπήγαγον, Κλεόμ-
βροτον δὲ ἔχοντα τὸ ἐν Φωκεῦσι στράτευμα καὶ
ἐπερωτῶντα τὰ οἴκοι τέλη τί χρὴ ποιεῖν, Προθόου

desired might aid the injured cities, but that any 871 a.c.
 which did not so desire was not under oath to be the ally of those who were injured. On these terms the Lacedaemonians took the oath for themselves and their allies, while the Athenians and their allies took the oath severally, city by city. The Thebans also signed their names among the cities which had sworn, but on the following day their ambassadors came in again and demanded that the writing be changed to read that "the Boeotians" instead of "the Thebans" had sworn.¹ Agesilaus, however, replied that he would change no part of what they had sworn to and signed in the first place; but if they did not wish to be included in the treaty, he said that he would strike out their names if they so directed. When, accordingly, under these circumstances the others had concluded peace, while the only controversy was with the Thebans, the Athenians were of the opinion that now there was hope that the Thebans would be decimated, as the common saying puts it, and as for the Thebans themselves, they went home utterly despondent.

IV. After this the Athenians, on their side, proceeded to withdraw their garrisons from the cities and to send after Iphicrates and his ships, and they compelled him to give back everything which he had captured after the time when the oaths were taken at Lacedaemon. But the Lacedaemonians, on the other hand, while they withdrew both their governors and their garrisons from all the other cities, did not follow this course in the case of Cleombrotus, who was at the head of the army in Phocis and now asked the authorities at home what he should do.

¹ i.e. insisting upon their claim to headship in Boeotia.

λέξαντος ὅτι αὐτῷ δοκοίη διαλύσαντας τὸ στράτευμα κατὰ τοὺς ὅρκους καὶ περιαγγείλαντας ταῖς πόλεσι συμβαλέσθαι εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ὅποσον βούλοιτο ἐκάστη πόλις, ἔπειτα εἰ μὴ τις ἐῷ αὐτονόμους τὰς πόλεις εἶναι, τότε πάλιν παρακαλέσαντας ὅσοι τῇ αὐτονομίᾳ βούλονται βοηθεῖν, ἄγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναντιουμένους· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ἔφη οἶεσθαι τοὺς τε θεοὺς εὐμενεστάτους εἶναι
 3 καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἥκιστ' ἂν ἄχθεσθαι· ἡ δ' ἐκκλησία ἀκούσασα ταῦτα ἐκείνους μὲν φλυαρεῖν ἡγήσατο· ἡδὴ γάρ, ὥς ἔοικε, τὸ δαιμόνιον ἡγεν· ἐπέστειλαν δὲ τῷ Κλεομβρότῳ μὴ διαλύειν τὸ στράτευμα, ἀλλ' εὐθύς ἄγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους, εἰ μὴ αὐτονόμους ἀφίοιεν τὰς πόλεις.¹ ἐπεὶ οὖν ἦσθετο οὐχ ὅπως τὰς πόλεις ἀφιέντας, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὸ στράτευμα διαλύοντας, ὥς ἀντιτάττοντο πρὸς αὐτόν,² οὕτω δὴ ἄγει τὴν στρατιὰν εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν.

Καὶ ἡ μὲν οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἐμβαλεῖν αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν Φωκέων προσεδόκων καὶ ἐπὶ στενῷ τινι ἐφύλαττον οὐκ ἐμβάλλει· διὰ Θισβῶν δὲ ὀρεινὴν καὶ ἀπροσδόκητον πορευθεὶς ἀφικνεῖται εἰς Κρεῦσιν, καὶ τὸ τεῖχος αἰρεῖ, καὶ τριήρεις τῶν Θηβαίων δώδεκα
 4 λαμβάνει. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας καὶ ἀναβὰς ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης, ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο ἐν Λεύκτροις τῆς Θεσπικῆς. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἐπὶ τῷ ἀπαντικρὺ λόφῳ οὐ πολὺ διαλείποντες,

¹ After πόλεις the MSS. proceed: ὁ δὲ Κλεόμβροτος ἐπειδὴ ἐπύθετο τὴν εἰρήνην γεγενημένην, πέμψας πρὸς τοὺς ἐφόρους ἡρώτα τί χρὴ ποιεῖν· οἱ δ' ἐκέλευσαν αὐτὸν στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους, εἰ μὴ ἀφίοιεν τὰς Βοιωτίας πόλεις αὐτονόμους. These words are dropped by Kel. and all editors.

² ὥς ἀντιτάττοντο πρὸς αὐτόν Brodaeus: ὥς ἀντετάττοντο πρὸς αὐτούς MSS., which Kel. retains, but brackets.

HELLENICA, VI. IV. 2-4

Prothous did indeed say that it seemed to him they ought first to disband the army in accordance with their oaths and send round word to the various cities to make contributions, as large as each city chose to make, to the temple of Apollo,¹ and afterwards, in case anyone tried to prevent the cities from being independent, to call together again at that time all who wished to support the cause of independence and lead them against those who opposed it; for he thought, he continued, that in this way the gods would be most favourably inclined toward them and the cities would be least annoyed. The Lacedaemonian assembly, however, upon hearing these words, came to the conclusion that he was talking nonsense; for at this moment, as it seems, Fate was leading them on; and they sent orders to Cleombrotus not to disband his army, but to lead it at once against the Thebans if they did not leave the cities independent. When, therefore, he learned that, so far from leaving the cities independent, the Thebans were not even disbanding their army, in order that they might marshal themselves against him, under these circumstances he undertook to lead his troops into Boeotia.

Now Cleombrotus did not enter Boeotia from Phocis at the point where the Thebans expected him to enter and where they were keeping guard at a narrow pass; but proceeding by way of Thisbae along a mountainous and unexpected route, he arrived at Creusis, captured its wall, and took twelve triremes belonging to the Thebans. After accomplishing this exploit and marching up from the sea-coast, he encamped at Leuctra, in the territory of Thespieae. And the Thebans encamped on the opposite hill not

¹ i.e. for a war fund.

XENOPHON

οὐδένας ἔχοντες συμμάχους ἀλλ' ἢ τοὺς Βοιω-
 τούς. ἔνθα δὴ τῷ Κλεομβρότῳ οἱ μὲν φίλοι προσ-
 5 ἰόντες ἔλεγον· ὦ Κλεόμβροτε, εἰ ἀφήσεις τοὺς
 Θηβαίους ἄνευ μάχης, κινδυνεύσεις ὑπὸ τῆς πό-
 λεως τὰ ἔσχατα παθεῖν. ἀναμνησθήσονται γάρ
 σου καὶ ὅτε εἰς Κυνὸς κεφαλὰς ἀφικόμενος οὐδὲν
 τῆς χώρας τῶν Θηβαίων ἐδήσας, καὶ ὅτε ὕστερον
 στρατεύων ἀπεκρούσθης τῆς ἐμβολῆς, Ἀγησιλάου
 αἰὲ ἐμβάλλοντος διὰ τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος. εἴπερ οὖν
 ἢ σαυτοῦ κήδη ἢ τῆς πατρίδος ἐπιθυμεῖς, ἀκτέον
 ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας. οἱ μὲν φίλοι τοιαῦτα ἔλεγον· οἱ
 δ' ἐναντίοι· Νῦν δὴ, ἔφασαν, δηλώσει ὁ ἀνὴρ εἰ τῷ
 ὄντι κήδεται τῶν Θηβαίων, ὥσπερ λέγεται.¹

6 Ὁ μὲν δὴ Κλεόμβροτος ταῦτα ἀκούων παρωξύν-
 νετο πρὸς τὸ μάχην συνάπτειν. τῶν δ' αὖ Θηβαίων
 οἱ προεστῶτες ἐλογίζοντο ὡς εἰ μὴ μαχοῖντο, ἀπο-
 στήσονται μὲν αἱ περιοικίδες αὐτῶν πόλεις, αὐτοὶ
 δὲ πολιορκήσονται· εἰ δὲ μὴ ἔξοι ὁ δῆμος ὁ Θη-
 βαίων τὰπιτήδεια, ὅτι κινδυνεύσοι καὶ ἡ πόλις
 αὐτοῖς ἐναντία γενέσθαι. ἄτε δὲ καὶ πεφευγότες
 πρόσθεν πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ἐλογίζοντο κρεῖττον εἶναι
 7 μαχομένους ἀποθνήσκειν ἢ πάλιν φεύγειν. πρὸς
 δὲ τούτοις παρεθάρρυνε μὲν τι αὐτοὺς καὶ ὁ χρη-
 σμὸς ὁ λεγόμενος ὡς δέοι ἐνταῦθα Λακεδαιμονίους
 ἡττηθῆναι ἔνθα τὸ τῶν παρθένων ἦν μνήμα, αἱ
 λέγονται διὰ τὸ βιασθῆναι ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων
 τινῶν ἀποκτεῖναι ἑαυτάς. καὶ ἐκόσμησαν δὴ
 τοῦτο τὸ μνήμα οἱ Θηβαῖοι πρὸ τῆς μάχης.

¹ λέγεται MSS.: λέγει Kel.

HELLENICA, VI. IV. 4-7

very far away, with no allies except the Boeotians. 871 a.c.
Then his friends went to Cleombrotus and said:
“Cleombrotus, if you let the Thebans escape without a battle, you will be in danger of suffering the uttermost penalty at the hands of your state. For they will remember against you not only the time when you reached Cynoscephalae and laid waste no part of the country of the Thebans, but also the time when, on your later expedition, you were beaten back from effecting your entrance, although Agesilaus always made his entrance by way of Cithaeron. Therefore if you really have a care for yourself or a desire to see your fatherland again, you must lead against these men.” Such were the words of his friends; but his opponents said: “Now is the time when the man will make it clear whether he is in truth partial to the Thebans, as rumour has it.”

Cleombrotus, then, as he heard these things was spurred on to join battle. The leaders of the Thebans, on the other hand, calculated that if they did not fight, the cities round about would revolt from them and they would themselves be besieged; further, that if the people of Thebes were thus cut off from provisions, the city itself would be in danger of turning against them. And since many of them had been in exile before, they estimated that it was better to die fighting than to be exiled again. Besides this, they were also somewhat encouraged by the oracle which was reported—that the Lacedaemonians were destined to be defeated at the spot where stood the monument of the virgins, who are said to have killed themselves because they had been violated by certain Lacedaemonians. The Thebans accordingly decorated this monument before the

- ἀπηγγέλλετο δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως αὐτοῖς ὥς οἱ
 τε νεὸ πάντες αὐτόματοι ἀνεψύγοντο, αἳ τε ἰέρειαι
 λέγοιεν ὥς νίκην οἱ θεοὶ φαίνοιεν. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ
 Ἡρακλείου καὶ τὰ ὄπλα ἔφασαν ἀφανῆ εἶναι, ὥς
 τοῦ Ἡρακλέους εἰς τὴν μάχην ἐξωρμημένου. οἱ
 μὲν δὴ τινες λέγουσιν ὥς ταῦτα πάντα τεχνά-
 8 σματα ἦν τῶν προεστηκότων. εἰς δ' οὖν τὴν
 μάχην τοῖς μὲν Λακεδαιμονίοις πάντα ἐναντία
 ἐγίγνετο, τοῖς δὲ πάντα καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης κατωρ-
 θοῦτο. ἦν μὲν γὰρ μετ' ἄριστον τῷ Κλεομβρότῳ
 ἡ τελευταία βουλή περὶ τῆς μάχης· ἐν δὲ τῇ
 μεσημβρία ὑποπινόντων καὶ τὸν οἶνον παροξύναι
 9 τι αὐτοὺς ἔλεγον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὠπλίζοντο ἑκάτεροι
 καὶ πρόδηλον ἦδη ἦν ὅτι μάχη ἔσοιτο, πρῶτον
 μὲν ἀπιέναι ὠρμημένων ἐκ τοῦ Βοιωτίου στρα-
 τεύματος τῶν τὴν ἀγορὰν παρεσκευακότων καὶ
 σκευοφόρων τινῶν καὶ τῶν οὐ βουλομένων μά-
 χεσθαι, περιιόντες κύκλῳ οἳ τε μετὰ τοῦ Ἰέρωνος
 μισθοφόροι καὶ οἱ τῶν Φωκέων πελτασταὶ καὶ
 τῶν ἱππέων Ἡρακλεῶται καὶ Φλειάσιοι ἐπιθέ-
 μενοι τοῖς ἀπιούσιν ἐπέστρεψάν τε αὐτοὺς καὶ
 κατεδίωξαν πρὸς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ τῶν Βοιω-
 τῶν. ὥστε πολὺ μὲν ἐποίησαν μεῖζόν τε καὶ
 ἀθροώτερον ἢ πρόσθεν τὸ τῶν Βοιωτῶν στρά-
 10 τευμα. ἔπειτα δέ, ἅτε καὶ πεδίου ὄντος τοῦ
 μεταξύ, προετάξαντο μὲν τῆς ἑαυτῶν φάλαγγος
 οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοὺς ἱππέας, ἀντετάξαντο δ'
 αὐτοῖς καὶ οἱ Θηβαῖοι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν. ἦν δὲ τὸ
 μὲν τῶν Θηβαίων ἱππικὸν μεμελετηκὸς διὰ τε τὸν

battle. Furthermore, reports were brought to them 871 B.C.
 from the city that all the temples were opening of
 themselves, and that the priestesses said that the
 gods revealed victory. And the messengers reported
 that from the Heracleium the arms also had dis-
 appeared, indicating that Heracles had gone forth
 to the battle. Some, to be sure, say that all these
 things were but devices of the leaders. But in the
 battle, at any rate, everything turned out adversely
 for the Lacedaemonians, while for the other side
 everything went prosperously, even to the gifts of
 fortune. For it was after the morning meal that
 Cleombrotus held his last council over the battle,
 and drinking a little, as they did, at the middle of
 the day, it was said that the wine helped somewhat
 to excite them. Again, when both sides were arming
 themselves and it was already evident that there
 would be a battle, in the first place, after those who
 had provided the market and some baggage-carriers
 and such as did not wish to fight had set out to
 withdraw from the Boeotian army, the Lacedaemo-
 nian mercenaries under Hieron, the peltasts of the
 Phocians, and, among the horsemen, the Heracleots
 and Phliasians made a circuit and fell upon these
 people as they were departing, and not only turned
 them about but chased them back to the camp of
 the Boeotians. Thereby they made the Boeotian
 army much larger and more densely massed than it
 had been before. In the second place, since the space
 between the armies was a plain, the Lacedaemonians
 posted their horsemen in front of their phalanx, and
 the Thebans in like manner posted theirs over against
 them. Now the cavalry of the Thebans was in good
 training as a result of the war with the Orchomenians

- πρὸς Ὀρχομενίους πόλεμον καὶ διὰ τὸν πρὸς
Θεσπιᾶς, τοῖς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν
- 11 χρόνον πονηρότατον ἦν τὸ ἵππικόν. ἔτρεφον μὲν
γὰρ τοὺς ἵππους οἱ πλουσιώτατοι· ἐπεὶ δὲ
φρουρὰ φανθείη, τότε ἦκεν ὁ συντεταγμένος· λα-
βὼν δ' ἂν τὸν ἵππον καὶ ὄπλα ὅποια δοθείη αὐτῷ
ἐκ τοῦ παραχρῆμα ἂν ἐστρατεύετο· τῶν δ' αὖ
στρατιωτῶν οἱ τοῖς σώμασιν ἀδυνατώτατοι καὶ
- 12 ἥκιστα φιλότιμοι ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων ἦσαν. τοιοῦτον
μὲν οὖν τὸ ἵππικόν ἐκατέρων ἦν. τῆς δὲ φάλαγ-
γος τοὺς μὲν Λακεδαιμονίους ἔφασαν εἰς τρεῖς τὴν
ἐνωμοτίαν ἄγειν· τοῦτο δὲ συμβαίνειν αὐτοῖς οὐ
πλέον ἢ εἰς δώδεκα τὸ βάθος. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι οὐκ
ἔλαττον ἢ ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα ἀσπίδων συνεστραμ-
μένοι ἦσαν, λογιζόμενοι ὡς εἰ νικήσειαν τὸ περὶ
τὸν βασιλέα, τὸ ἄλλο πᾶν εὐχείρωτον ἔσοιτο.
- 13 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤρξατο ἄγειν ὁ Κλεόμβροτος πρὸς
τοὺς πολεμίους, πρῶτον μὲν πρὶν καὶ αἰσθέσθαι
τὸ μετ' αὐτοῦ στράτευμα ὅτι ἡγοῖτο, καὶ δὴ καὶ οἱ
ἵππεῖς συνεβεβλήκεσαν καὶ ταχὺ ἤττηντο οἱ τῶν
Λακεδαιμονίων. φεύγοντες δὲ ἐνεπεπτώκεσαν
τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ὀπλίταις, ἔτι δὲ ἐνέβαλλον οἱ τῶν
Θηβαίων λόχοι. ὁμως δὲ ὡς οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν
Κλεόμβροτον τὸ πρῶτον ἐκράτουν τῇ μάχῃ σαφεῖ
τούτῳ τεκμηρίῳ γνοίη τις ἂν· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐδύνατο
αὐτὸν ἀνελέσθαι καὶ ζῶντα ἀπενεγκεῖν, εἰ μὴ οἱ
πρὸ αὐτοῦ μαχόμενοι ἐπεκράτουν ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ
- 14 χρόνῳ· ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἀπέθανε Δείνων τε ὁ πολέ-

and the war with the Thespians, while the cavalry of 371 B.C. the Lacedaemonians was exceedingly poor at that time. For the richest men kept the horses, and it was only when the ban was called out that the appointed trooper presented himself; then he would get his horse and such arms as were given him, and take the field on the moment's notice. As for the men, on the other hand, it was those who were least strong of body and least ambitious who were mounted on the horses. Such, then, was the cavalry on either side. Coming now to the infantry, it was said that the Lacedaemonians led each half-company three files abreast, and that this resulted in the phalanx being not more than twelve men deep.¹ The Thebans, however, were massed not less than fifty shields deep, calculating that if they conquered that part of the army which was around the king, all the rest of it would be easy to overcome.

Now when Cleombrotus began to lead his army against the enemy, in the first place, before the troops under him so much as perceived that he was advancing, the horsemen had already joined battle and those of the Lacedaemonians had speedily been worsted; then in their flight they had fallen foul of their own hoplites, and, besides, the companies of the Thebans were now charging upon them. Nevertheless, the fact that Cleombrotus and his men were at first victorious in the battle may be known from this clear indication: they would not have been able to take him up and carry him off still living, had not those who were fighting in front of him been holding the advantage at that time. But when Deinon, the polemarch, Sphodrias,

¹ i.e. the half-company numbered thirty-six men.

- μαρχος καὶ Σφοδρίας τῶν περὶ δαμοσίαν καὶ Κλεώνυμος ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἵππεῖς¹ καὶ οἱ συμφορεῖς τοῦ πολεμάρχου καλούμενοι οἳ τε ἄλλοι ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄχλου ὠθούμενοι ἀνεχώρουν, οἱ δὲ τοῦ εὐωνύμου ὄντες τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ὡς ἐώρων τὸ δεξιὸν ὠθούμενον, ἐνέκλιναν· ὅμως δὲ πολλῶν τεθνεώτων καὶ ἡττημένοι ἐπεὶ διέβησαν τὴν τάφρον, ἣ πρὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἔτυχεν οὔσα αὐτοῖς, ἔθεντο τὰ ὄπλα κατὰ χώραν ἔνθεν ὠρμηντο. ἦν μέντοι οὐ πάνυ ἐν ἐπιπέδῳ, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ὀρθίῳ μᾶλλον τι τὸ στρατόπεδον. ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἦσαν μὲν τινες τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων οἱ ἀφόρητον τὴν συμφορὰν ἠγούμενοι τό τε τροπαῖον ἔφασαν χρῆναι κωλύειν ἰστάναι τοὺς πολεμίους, τοὺς τε νεκροὺς μὴ ὑποσπόνδους, ἀλλὰ διὰ μάχης πειρᾶσθαι
- 15 ἀναιρεῖσθαι. οἱ δὲ πολέμαρχοι, ὁρῶντες μὲν τῶν συμπάντων Λακεδαιμονίων τεθνεώτας ἐγγὺς χιλίους, ὁρῶντες δ' αὐτῶν Σπαρτιατῶν, ὄντων² ἐκεῖ ὡς ἑπτακοσίων, τεθνηκότας περὶ τετρακοσίους, αἰσθανόμενοι δὲ τοὺς συμμάχους πάντας μὲν ἀθύμως ἔχοντας πρὸς τὸ μάχεσθαι, ἔστι δὲ οὗς αὐτῶν οὐδὲ ἀχθομένους τῷ γεγενημένῳ, συλλέξαντες τοὺς ἐπικαιριωτάτους ἐβουλεύοντο τί χρὴ ποιεῖν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πᾶσιν ἐδόκει ὑποσπόνδους τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀναιρεῖσθαι, οὕτω δὲ ἔπεμψαν κήρυκα περὶ σπονδῶν. οἱ μέντοι Θηβαῖοι μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τροπαῖον ἐστήσαντο καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀπέδωκαν.
- 16 Γενομένων δὲ τούτων, ὁ μὲν εἰς τὴν Λακεδαί-

¹ μὲν ἵππεῖς Stephanus: μὲν ἵπποι MSS.: μένιπποι Kel.

² After ὄντων the MSS. have τῶν: Kel. brackets, following Hartman.

one of the king's tent-companions, and Cleonymus, 371 B.C.
 the son of Sphodrias, had been killed, then the royal
 bodyguard, the so-called aides of the polemarch, and
 the others fell back under the pressure of the Theban
 mass, while those who were on the left wing of the
 Lacedaemonians, when they saw that the right wing
 was being pushed back, gave way. Yet despite the
 fact that many had fallen and that they were de-
 feated, after they had crossed the trench which
 chanced to be in front of their camp they grounded
 their arms at the spot from which they had set forth.
 The camp, to be sure, was not on ground which
 was altogether level, but rather on the slope of a hill.
 After the disaster some of the Lacedaemonians,
 thinking it unendurable, said that they ought to
 prevent the enemy from setting up their trophy and
 to try to recover the bodies of the dead, not by
 means of a truce, but by fighting. The polemarchs,
 however, seeing that of the whole number of the
 Lacedaemonians almost a thousand had been killed;
 seeing, further, that among the Spartiatae themselves,
 of whom there were some seven hundred there,
 about four hundred had fallen; and perceiving that
 the allies were one and all without heart for fighting,
 while some of them were not even displeased at
 what had taken place, gathered together the most
 important personages and deliberated about what
 they should do. And as all thought it best to re-
 cover the bodies of the dead by a truce, they finally
 sent a herald to ask for a truce. After this, then,
 the Thebans set up a trophy and gave back the
 bodies under a truce.

After these things had happened, the messenger

μονα ἀγγελῶν¹ τὸ πάθος ἀφικνεῖται γυμνοπαι-
διῶν τε οὔσης τῆς τελευταίας καὶ τοῦ ἀνδρικοῦ
χοροῦ ἔνδον ὄντος· οἱ δὲ ἔφοροι ἐπεὶ ἤκουσαν τὸ
πάθος, ἐλυποῦντο μέν, ὥσπερ, οἶμαι, ἀνάγκη· τὸν
μέντοι χορὸν οὐκ ἐξήγαγον, ἀλλὰ διαγωνίσασθαι
εἶων. καὶ τὰ μὲν ὀνόματα πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους
ἐκάστου τῶν τεθνεώτων ἀπέδοσαν· προεῖπαν δὲ
ταῖς γυναιξὶ μὴ ποιεῖν κραυγὴν, ἀλλὰ σιγῇ τὸ
πάθος φέρειν. τῇ δ' ὑστεραία ἦν ὁρᾶν, ὧν μὲν
ἐτέθνασαν οἱ προσήκοντες, λιπαροὺς καὶ φαι-
δροὺς ἐν τῷ φανερῷ ἀναστρεφομένους, ὧν δὲ
ζῶντες ἡγγελμένοι ἦσαν, ὀλίγους ἂν εἶδες, τούτους
δὲ σκυθρωποὺς καὶ ταπεινοὺς περιούοντας.

- 17 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου φρουρὰν μὲν ἔφαινον οἱ ἔφοροι
ταῖν ὑπολοίποιν μόραιν μέχρι τῶν τετταράκοντα
ἀφ' ἡβης. ἐξέπεμπον δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἔξω μορῶν
μέχρι τῆς αὐτῆς ἡλικίας· τὸ γὰρ πρόσθεν εἰς
τοὺς Φωκέας μέχρι τῶν πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα ἀφ'
ἡβης ἐστράτευντο· καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' ἀρχαῖς δὲ τότε
18 καταλειφθέντας ἀκολουθεῖν ἐκέλευον. ὁ μὲν οὖν
'Αγησίλαος ἐκ τῆς ἀσθενείας οὔπω ἴσχυεν· ἡ
δὲ πόλις Ἀρχίδαμον τὸν υἱὸν ἐκέλευεν αὐτοῦ²
ἡγεῖσθαι. προθύμως δ' αὐτῷ συνεστρατεύοντο
'Τεγεᾶται· ἔτι γὰρ ἔζων οἱ περὶ Στάσιππον, λα-
κωνίζοντες καὶ οὐκ ἐλάχιστον δυνάμενοι ἐν τῇ

¹ ἀγγελῶν MSS.: ἀγγέλλων Kel.

² ἐκέλευεν αὐτοῦ MSS.: ἐκέλευεν αὐτ' αὐτοῦ Kel.

¹ A Spartan festival, celebrated with singing, dancing, and gymnastic exhibitions.

who was sent to carry the news of the calamity to Lacedaemon arrived there on the last day of the festival of the Gymnopaediae,¹ when the chorus of men was in the theatre. And when the ephors heard of the disaster, they were indeed distressed, as, I conceive, was inevitable; yet they did not withdraw the chorus, but suffered it to finish its performance. Further, although they duly gave the names of the dead to their several kinsmen, they gave orders to the women not to make any outcry, but to bear the calamity in silence. And on the following day one could see those whose relatives had been killed going about in public with bright and cheerful faces, while of those whose relatives had been reported as living you would have seen but few, and these few walking about gloomy and downcast.

After this the ephors called out the ban of the two remaining² regiments, going up as far as those who were forty years beyond the minimum military age; they also sent out all up to the same age who belonged to the regiments abroad³; for in the original expedition to Phocis only those men who were not more than thirty-five years beyond the minimum age had served; furthermore, they ordered those who at that time had been left behind in public office to join their regiments. Now Agesilaus as a result of his illness was not yet strong; accordingly the state directed Archidamus, his son, to act as commander. And the Tegeans served with him zealously; for the followers of Stasippus were still alive, who were favourable to the Lacedaemonians and had no slight power in their own state. Likewise

¹ *cp.* i. 1 and note.

³ *i.e.* now at Leuctra.

πόλει. ἐρρωμένως δὲ καὶ οἱ Μαντινεῖς ἐκ τῶν
 κωμῶν συνεστρατεύοντο· ἀριστοκρατούμενοι γὰρ
 ἐτύγχανον. καὶ Κορίνθιοι δὲ καὶ Σικυνῶνιοι καὶ
 Φλειάσιοι καὶ Ἀχαιοὶ μάλα προθύμως ἠκολού-
 θουν, καὶ ἄλλαι δὲ πόλεις ἐξέπεμπον στρατιώτας.
 ἐπλήρουν δὲ καὶ τριήρεις αὐτοὶ τε οἱ Λακεδαι-
 μόνιοι καὶ Κορίνθιοι, καὶ ἐδέοντο καὶ Σικυνωνίων
 συμπληροῦν, ἐφ' ὧν διανοοῦντο τὸ στράτευμα
 19 διαβιβάζειν. καὶ ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἀρχίδαμος ἐθύετο ἐπὶ
 τῇ διαβάσει.

Οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι εὐθύς μὲν μετὰ τὴν μάχην
 ἔπεμψαν εἰς Ἀθήνας ἄγγελον ἐστεφανωμένον,
 καὶ ἅμα μὲν τῆς νίκης τὸ μέγεθος ἔφραζον, ἅμα
 δὲ βοηθεῖν ἐκέλευον, λέγοντες ὡς νῦν ἐξείη
 Λακεδαιμονίους πάντων ὧν ἐπεποιήκεσαν αὐτοὺς
 20 τιμωρήσασθαι. τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων ἡ βουλὴ ἐτύγ-
 χανεν ἐν ἀκροπόλει καθημένη. ἐπεὶ δ' ἤκουσαν
 τὸ γεγεννημένον, ὅτι μὲν σφόδρα ἰνιάθησαν πᾶσι
 δῆλον ἐγένετο· οὔτε γὰρ ἐπὶ ξένια τὸν κήρυκα
 ἐκάλεσαν, περὶ τε τῆς βοηθείας οὐδὲν ἀπεκρί-
 ναντο. καὶ Ἀθήνηθεν μὲν οὕτως ἀπῆλθεν ὁ
 κῆρυξ. πρὸς μέντοι Ἰάσονα, σύμμαχον ὄντα,
 ἔπεμπον σπουδῇ οἱ Θηβαῖοι, κελεύοντες βοηθεῖν,
 21 διαλογιζόμενοι πῇ τὸ μέλλον ἀποβήσοιτο. ὁ δ'
 εὐθύς τριήρεις μὲν ἐπλήρου, ὡς βοηθήσων κατὰ
 θάλατταν, συλλαβὼν δὲ τό τε ξενικὸν καὶ τοὺς
 περὶ αὐτὸν ἰππέας, καίπερ ἀκηρύκτῳ πολέμῳ
 176

the Mantineans from their villages¹ supported him stoutly; for they chanced to be under an aristocratic government. Furthermore, the Corinthians, Sicyonians, Phliasians, and Achaeans followed him with all zeal, and other states also sent out soldiers. Meanwhile the Lacedaemonians themselves and the Corinthians manned triremes and requested the Sicyonians also to help them in so doing, intending to carry the army across the gulf on these ships. And Archidamus accordingly offered his sacrifices at the frontier.

As for the Thebans, immediately after the battle they sent to Athens a garlanded messenger, and while telling of the greatness of their victory, they at the same time urged the Athenians to come to their aid, saying that now it was possible to take vengeance upon the Lacedaemonians for all the harm they had done to them. Now the Senate of the Athenians chanced to be holding its sitting on the Acropolis. And when they heard what had taken place, it was made clear to everyone that they were greatly distressed; for they did not invite the herald to partake of hospitality and about the matter of aid they gave him no answer. So the herald departed from Athens without having received a reply. But to Jason, who was their ally, the Thebans sent in haste, urging him to come to their aid; for they were debating among themselves how the future would turn out. And Jason immediately proceeded to man triremes, as though he intended to go to their assistance by sea, but in fact he took his mercenary force and his bodyguard of cavalry and, although the Phocians were engaged in a bitter warfare

¹ See v. ii. 5-7.

τῶν Φωκέων χρωμένων, πεζῇ διεπορεύθη εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν, ἐν πολλαῖς τῶν πόλεων πρότερον ὀφθεῖς ἢ ἀγγελθεῖς ὅτι πορεύοιτο. πρὶν γοῦν συλλέγεσθαι τι πανταχόθεν ἔφθανε πόρρω γιγνόμενος, δῆλον ποιῶν ὅτι πολλαχοῦ τὸ τάχος μᾶλλον τῆς βίας διαπράττεται τὰ δέοντα.

- 22 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκετο εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν, λεγόντων τῶν Θηβαίων ὡς καιρὸς εἴη ἐπιτίθεσθαι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἄνωθεν μὲν ἐκείνον σὺν τῷ ξενικῷ, σφᾶς δὲ ἀντιπροσώπους, ἀπέτρεπεν αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἰάσων, διδάσκων ὡς καλοῦ ἔργου γεγενημένου οὐκ ἄξιον αὐτοῖς εἶη διακινδυνεύσαι, ὥστε ἢ ἔτι μείζω καταπρᾶξαι ἢ στερηθῆναι καὶ τῆς γεγενημένης
- 23 νίκης. Οὐχ ὁρᾶτε, ἔφη, ὅτι καὶ ὑμεῖς, ἐπεὶ ἐν ἀνάγκῃ ἐγένεσθε, ἐκρατήσατε; οἶεσθαι οὖν χρὴ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους ἄν, εἰ ἀναγκάζοιντο, τοῦ¹ ζῆν ἀπονοηθέντας διαμάχεσθαι. καὶ ὁ θεὸς δέ, ὡς ἔοικε, πολλάκις χαίρει τοὺς μὲν μικροὺς μεγά-
- 24 λους ποιῶν, τοὺς δὲ μεγάλους μικροὺς. τοὺς μὲν οὖν Θηβαίους τοιαῦτα λέγων ἀπέτρεπε τοῦ διακινδυνεύειν· τοὺς δ' αὖ Λακεδαιμονίους ἐδίδασκεν οἷον μὲν εἴη ἡττημένον στράτευμα, οἷον δὲ νενικηκός. Εἰ δ' ἐπιλαθέσθαι,² ἔφη, βούλεσθε τὸ γεγενημένον πάθος, συμβουλεύω ἀναπνεύσαντας καὶ ἀναπαυσαμένους καὶ μείζους γεγενημένους τοῖς ἀηττήτοις οὕτως εἰς μάχην ἵεναι. νῦν δέ, ἔφη, εὖ ἴστε ὅτι καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ὑμῖν εἰσὶν οἱ

¹ Before τοῦ the MSS. have ἐκγενέσθαι: Kel. brackets, following Madvig. ² ἐπιλαθέσθαι MSS.: ἐξιάσασθαι Kel.

against him, proceeded by land through their country 871 AC into Boeotia, appearing in many of their towns before it was reported to them that he was on the march. At any rate, before they could gather troops together from here and there, he was already far on ahead, thus making it clear that in many cases it is speed rather than force which accomplishes the desired results.

But when he arrived in Boeotia and the Thebans said that now was the right moment to attack the Lacedaemonians, he with his mercenaries from the heights above and they by a frontal assault, Jason sought to dissuade them, pointing out that since they had done a good work, it was not worth while for them to venture a decisive engagement in which they would either accomplish yet greater things or would be deprived of the victory already gained. "Do you not see," he said, "that in your own case it was when you found yourselves in straits that you won the victory? Therefore one must suppose that the Lacedaemonians also, if they were in like straits, would fight it out regardless of their lives. Besides, it seems that the deity often takes pleasure in making the small great and the great small." With such words, then, he endeavoured to dissuade the Thebans from making the final venture; to the Lacedaemonians, on the other hand, he pointed out what manner of thing a defeated army was, and what an army victorious. "And if you wish," he said, "to forget the disaster which has befallen you, I advise you first to recover your breath and rest yourselves, and then, after you have become stronger, go into battle against men who are unconquered. But now," he said, "be well assured that even among

- διαλέγονται περὶ φιλίας τοῖς πολεμίοις· ἀλλὰ ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου πειρᾶσθε σπονδὰς λαβεῖν. ταῦτα δ', ἔφη, ἐγὼ προθυμοῦμαι, σῶσαι ὑμᾶς βουλόμενος διὰ τε τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς φιλίαν πρὸς ὑμᾶς
- 25 καὶ διὰ τὸ προξενεῖν ὑμῶν. ἔλεγε μὲν οὖν τοιαῦτα, ἔπραττε δ' ἴσως ὅπως διάφοροι καὶ οὗτοι ἀλλήλοις ὄντες ἀμφοτέρω ἐκείνου δέοιντο. οἱ μὲντοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἀκούσαντες αὐτοῦ, πράττειν περὶ τῶν σπονδῶν ἐκέλευον· ἐπεὶ δ' ἀπηγγέλθη ὅτι εἶσαν αἱ σπονδαί, παρήγγειλαν οἱ πολέμαρχοι δειπνήσαντας συνεσκεύασθαι πάντας, ὡς τῆς νυκτὸς πορευσομένους, ὅπως ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ πρὸς τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα ἀναβαίνοιεν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐδείπνησαν, πρὶν καθεύδειν παραγγείλαντες ἀκολουθεῖν, ἡγοῦντο εὐθὺς ἀφ' ἑσπέρας τὴν διὰ Κρεύσιος, τῷ λαθεῖν πιστεύοντες μᾶλλον ἢ ταῖς
- 26 σπονδαῖς. μάλα δὲ χαλεπῶς πορευόμενοι, οἳα δὴ ἐν νυκτί τε καὶ ἐν φόβῳ ἀπιόντες καὶ χαλεπὴν ὁδόν, εἰς Αἰγύοσθενα τῆς Μεγαρικῆς ἀφικνουῦνται. ἐκεῖ δὲ περιτυγχάνουσι τῷ μετὰ Ἀρχιδάμου στρατεύματι. ἔνθα δὴ ἀναμείνας, ἕως καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι πάντες παρεγένοντο, ἀπῆγε πᾶν ὁμοῦ τὸ στράτευμα μέχρι Κορίνθου· ἐκεῖθεν δὲ τοὺς μὲν συμμάχους ἀφῆκε, τοὺς δὲ πολίτας οἵκαδε ἀπήγαγεν.
- 27 Ὁ μὲντοι Ἰάσων ἀπιὼν διὰ τῆς Φωκίδος Ἰαμπολιτῶν μὲν τό τε προάστιον εἶλε καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐπόρθησε καὶ ἀπέκτεινε πολλούς· τὴν δ' ἄλλην Φωκίδα διῆλθεν ἀπραγμόνως. ἀφικόμενος

your allies there are those who are holding con- 871 B.C.
verse with the enemy about a treaty of friendship
with them; by all means, then, try to obtain a
truce. And I am myself eager for this," he said,
"out of a desire to save you, both because of my
father's friendship with you and because I am your
diplomatic agent." Such, then, were the arguments
he urged, but he was acting perhaps with the
purpose that these two parties, at variance as they
were with one another, might both alike be in need
of him. The Lacedaemonians, however, after hearing
his words bade him negotiate for the truce; and when
the report came that the truce had been made, the
polemarchs gave orders that after dining all should
have their baggage packed and ready with the pur-
pose of setting out during the night, in order that
at daybreak they might be climbing Cithaeron. But
when the men had dined and before they went to
rest, the polemarchs gave the order to follow, and
led the way immediately upon the fall of evening by
the road through Creusis, trusting to secrecy more
than to the truce. And proceeding with very great
difficulty, since they were withdrawing at night and
in fear and by a hard road, they arrived at Aegos-
thema in the territory of Megara. There they fell
in with the army under Archidamus. And after
waiting there until all the allies had joined him,
Archidamus led back the whole army together as far
as Corinth; from there he dismissed the allies and
led the citizen troops back home.

As for Jason, on his way back through Phocis he
captured the outer city of the Hyampolitans, laid
waste their land, and killed many of them, but he
passed through the rest of Phocis without any hostile

XENOPHON

- δὲ εἰς Ἡράκλειαν κατέβαλε τὸ Ἡρακλεωτῶν
 τεῖχος, δῆλον ὅτι οὐ τοῦτο φοβούμενος, μή τινες
 ἀναπεπταμένης ταύτης τῆς παρόδου πορεύσονται
 ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκείνου δύναμιν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἐνθυμού-
 μενος μή τινες τὴν Ἡράκλειαν ἐπὶ στενῷ οὖσαν
 καταλαβόντες εἵργοιεν αὐτόν, εἴ ποι βούλοιτο τῆς
 28 Ἑλλάδος πορεύεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπῆλθε πάλιν εἰς
 τὴν Θετταλίαν, μέγας μὲν ἦν καὶ διὰ τὸ τῷ νόμῳ
 Θετταλῶν ταγὸς καθεστάναι καὶ διὰ τὸ μισθοφό-
 ρους πολλοὺς τρέφειν περὶ αὐτόν καὶ πεζοὺς καὶ
 ἵππείας, καὶ τούτους ἐκπεπονημένους ὥς ἂν κρά-
 τιστοι εἶεν· ἔτι δὲ μείζων καὶ διὰ τὸ συμμάχους
 πολλοὺς τοὺς μὲν ἤδη εἶναι αὐτῷ, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἔτι
 βούλεσθαι γίγνεσθαι. μέγιστος δ' ἦν τῶν καθ'
 αὐτόν τῷ μῆδ' ὑφ' ἐνὸς εὐκαταφρόνητος εἶναι.
- 29 Ἐπιόντων δὲ Πυθίων παρήγγειλε μὲν ταῖς πό-
 λεσι βοῦς καὶ οἷς καὶ αἰγας καὶ ὕς παρασκευάζε-
 σθαι ὥς εἰς τὴν θυσίαν. καὶ ἔφασαν πάνυ μετρίως
 ἐκάστη πόλει ἐπαγγελλομένῳ γενέσθαι βοῦς μὲν
 οὐκ ἐλάττους χιλίων, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα βοσκήματα
 πλείω ἢ μύρια. ἐκήρυξε δὲ καὶ νικητήριον χρυ-
 σοῦν στέφανον ἔσεσθαι, ἣτις τῶν πόλεων βοῦν
 30 ἡγεμόνα κάλλιστον τῷ θεῷ θρέψειε. παρήγγειλε
 δὲ καὶ ὥς στρατευσομένοις εἰς τὸν περὶ τὰ Πύθια
 χρόνον Θετταλοῖς παρασκευάζεσθαι· διανοεῖτο
 γάρ, ὥς ἔφασαν, καὶ τὴν πανήγυριν τῷ θεῷ καὶ

act. Upon arriving at Heracleia, however, he de- 371 B.C.
 stroyed the walled city of the Heracleots, manifestly
 having no fear that when this passage-way¹ had been
 thus thrown open anyone would march against his
 own dominion, but rather making provision that none
 should seize Heracleia, situated as it was at a narrow
 pass,¹ and block his way if he wanted to march to any
 place in Greece. And when he had come back again
 to Thessaly, he was in great repute both because he
 had legally been made Tagus of the Thessalians² and
 because he maintained about him many mercenaries,
 both foot-soldiers and horsemen, these moreover
 being troops which had been trained to the highest
 efficiency; his repute was yet greater by reason of
 his many allies, including, in addition to those whom
 he already had, also those who were desirous of
 becoming such. And he was the greatest of the men
 of his time in that he was not lightly to be despised
 by anyone soever.

Now when the Pythian festival was approaching, 370 B.C.
 Jason sent orders to his cities to make ready cattle;
 sheep, goats, and swine for the sacrifice. And it was
 said that although he laid upon each city a very
 moderate demand, there were contributed no fewer
 than a thousand cattle and more than ten thousand
 of the other animals. He also made proclamation
 that a golden crown would be the prize of victory
 to the city which should rear the finest bull to
 lead the herd in honour of the god. Further-
 more, he gave orders to the Thessalians to make
 preparations for taking the field at the time of the
 Pythian festival; for he was intending, it was said,
 to be himself the director both of the festal assembly

¹ Thermopylae.² See i. 18.

- τοὺς ἀγῶνας αὐτὸς διατιθέναι. περὶ μέντοι τῶν
 ἱερῶν χρημάτων ὅπως μὲν διανοεῖτο ἔτι καὶ νῦν
 ἄδηλον· λέγεται δὲ ἐπερομένων τῶν Δελφῶν τί
 χρή ποιεῖν, ἐὰν λαμβάνῃ τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ χρημάτων,
 31 ἀποκρίνασθαι τὸν θεὸν ὅτι αὐτῷ μελήσει. ὁ δ'
 οὖν ἀνὴρ τηλικούτος ὢν καὶ τοσαῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα
 διανοούμενος, ἐξέτασιν πεποιηκὼς καὶ δοκιμασίαν
 τοῦ Φεραίων ἵππικου, καὶ ἤδη καθήμενος καὶ
 ἀποκρινόμενος, εἴ τις δεόμενός του προσίοι, ὑπὸ
 νεανίσκων ἐπὶ προσελθόντων ὡς διαφερομένων
 τι ἀλλήλοις ἀποσφάττεται καὶ κατακόπτεται.
 32 βοηθησάντων δὲ ἐρρωμένως τῶν παραγενομένων
 δορυφόρων εἰς μὲν ἔτι τύπτων τὸν Ἰάσονα λόγχῃ
 πληγεὶς ἀποθνήσκει· ἕτερος δὲ ἀναβαίνων ἐφ'
 ἵππον ἐγκαταληφθεὶς καὶ πολλὰ τραύματα λα-
 βὼν ἀπέθανεν· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἀναπηδήσαντες ἐπὶ
 τοὺς παρεσκευασμένους ἵππους ἀπέφυγον· ὅποι
 δὲ ἀφίκοντο τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων, ἐν ταῖς
 πλείσταις ἐτιμῶντο. ᾧ καὶ δῆλον ἐγένετο ὅτι
 ἰσχυρῶς ἔδεισαν οἱ Ἕλληνες αὐτὸν μὴ τύραννος
 γένοιτο.
 33 Ἀποθανόντος μέντοι ἐκείνου Πολύδωρος ἀδελ-
 φὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ Πολύφρων ταγοὶ κατέστησαν.
 καὶ ὁ μὲν Πολύδωρος, πορευομένων ἀμφοτέρων
 εἰς Λάρισαν, νύκτωρ καθεύδων ἀποθνήσκει ὑπὸ
 Πολύφρονος τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, ὡς ἐδόκει· ὁ γὰρ θάνα-
 τος αὐτοῦ ἐξαπιναιῖός τε καὶ οὐκ ἔχων φανεράν
 34 πρόφασιν ἐγένετο. ὁ δ' αὖ Πολύφρων ἥρξε μὲν
 ἐνιαυτόν, κατεσκευάσατο δὲ τὴν ταγείαν τυραννίδι

in honour of the god and of the games. What he 370 a.c.
intended, however, in regard to the sacred treasures,
is even to this day uncertain; but it is said that when
the Delphians asked the god what they should do if
he tried to take any of his treasures, Apollo replied
that he would himself take care of the matter.
At any rate this man, great as he was and purposing
deeds so great and of such a kind, after he had held
a review and inspection of the cavalry of the Phe-
raeans, and was now in his seat and making answer
if anyone came to him with any request, was struck
down and killed by seven young men who came up
to him as though they had some quarrel with one
another. And when the guardsmen who attended
him rushed stoutly to his aid, one of the young men,
while still in the act of striking Jason, was pierced
with a lance and killed; a second was caught while
mounting his horse, suffered many wounds, and so
was killed; but the rest leaped upon the horses which
they had in readiness and escaped, and in most
of the Greek cities to which they came they were
honoured. This fact, indeed, made it plain that the
Greeks had conceived a very great fear lest Jason
should become tyrant.¹

When he had thus been slain, Polydorus, his brother,
and Polyphron succeeded to the office of Tagus.
Now Polydorus, while the two were on their way
to Larisa, was killed at night in his sleep by Poly-
phron, his brother, as people thought; for his death
was sudden and without manifest cause. Then Poly-
phron, in his turn, held sway for a year, and made
the office of Tagus like the rule of a tyrant. For in

¹ *i.e.* an absolute and irresponsible ruler, whereas the
position of Tagus was a legal, elective office.

- ὁμοίαν. ἔν τε γὰρ Φαρσάλῳ τὸν Πολυδάμαντα καὶ ἄλλους τῶν πολιτῶν ὀκτὼ τοὺς κρατίστους ἀπέκτεινεν, ἔκ τε Λαρίσης πολλοὺς φυγάδας ἐποίησε. ταῦτα δὲ ποιῶν καὶ οὗτος ἀποθνήσκει ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου, ὡς τιμωροῦντος τῷ Πολυδώρῳ
- 35 καὶ τὴν τυραννίδα καταλύοντος. ἐπεὶ δ' αὐτὸς παρέλαβε τὴν ἀρχήν, χαλεπὸς μὲν Θετταλοῖς ταγὸς ἐγένετο, χαλεπὸς δὲ Θηβαίοις καὶ Ἀθηναίοις πολέμιος, ἄδικος δὲ ληστής καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν. τοιοῦτος δ' ὢν καὶ αὐτὸς αὖ ἀποθνήσκει, αὐτοχειρία μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν τῆς γυναικὸς ἀδελφῶν, βουλῇ δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἐκείνης.
- 36 τοῖς τε γὰρ ἀδελφοῖς ἐξήγγειλεν ὡς ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπιβουλευοὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἔκρυψεν αὐτοὺς ἔνδον ὄντας ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν. καὶ δεξαμένη μεθύοντα τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, ἐπεὶ κατεκοίμισεν, ὁ μὲν λύχνος ἐκάετο, τὸ δὲ ξίφος αὐτοῦ ἐξήνεγκεν. ὡς δ' ᾔσθετο ὀκνοῦντας εἰσιέναι ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον τοὺς ἀδελφούς, εἶπεν ὡς εἰ μὴ ἤδη πράξοιεν, ἐξεγερεῖ αὐτόν. ὡς δ' εἰσῆλθον, ἐπισπάσασα τὴν θύραν
- 37 εἵχετο τοῦ ρόπτρου, ἕως ἀπέθανεν ὁ ἀνὴρ. ἡ δὲ ἔχθρα λέγεται αὐτῇ πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα γενέσθαι ὑπὸ μὲν τινῶν ὡς ἐπεὶ ἔδησε τὰ ἑαυτοῦ παιδικὰ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, νεανίσκον ὄντα καλόν, δεηθείσης αὐτῆς λῦσαι ἐξαγαγὼν αὐτὸν ἀπέσφαξεν· οἱ δὲ τινες ὡς, ἐπεὶ παῖδες αὐτῷ οὐκ ἐγίγνοντο ἐκ ταύτης, ὅτι πέμπων ἐς Θήβας ἐμνήστευε τὴν Ἰάσονος γυναῖκα.¹ τὰ μὲν οὖν αἷτια τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς οὕτω λέγεται· τῶν δὲ ταῦτα πραξάντων ἄχρι οὗ ὅδε ὁ λόγος ἐγράφετο

¹ After γυναῖκα the MSS. have ἀναλαβεῖν: Kel. brackets, following Stephanus

HELLENICA, VI. iv. 34-37

Pharsalus he put to death Polydamas and eight more 870 B.C.
of the best among the citizens, and from Larisa he
drove many into exile. While thus engaged he, also, 869 B.C.
was slain by Alexander, who posed as avenger of
Polydorus and destroyer of the tyranny. But when
Alexander had himself succeeded to the position
of ruler, he proved a cruel Tagus to the Thessalians,
a cruel enemy to the Thebans and Athenians, and
an unjust robber both by land and by sea. Being
such a man, he likewise was slain in his turn, the 858 B.C.
actual deed being done by his wife's brothers, though
the plan was conceived by the woman herself. For she
reported to her brothers that Alexander was plotting
against them, and concealed them within the house
for the entire day. Then after she had received
Alexander home in a drunken state and had put him
to bed, while the light was left burning she carried
his sword out of the chamber. And when she per-
ceived that her brothers were hesitating to go in and
attack Alexander, she said that if they did not act
at once she would wake him. Then, as soon as they
had gone in, she closed the door and held fast to the
knocker until her husband had been killed. Now her
hatred toward her husband is said by some people
to have been caused by the fact that when Alexander
had imprisoned his own favourite, who was a beautiful
youth, and she begged him to release him, he took
him out and slew him; others, however, say that
inasmuch as no children were being born to him of
this woman, Alexander was sending to Thebes and
trying to win as his wife the widow of Jason. The
reasons, then, for the plot on the part of his wife
are thus stated; but as for those who executed this
deed, Tisiphonus, who was the eldest of the brothers,

Τισίφονος πρεσβύτατος ὦν τῶν ἀδελφῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν εἶχε.

V. Καὶ τὰ μὲν Θετταλικά, ὅσα περὶ Ἰάσονα ἐπράχθη καὶ μετὰ τὸν ἐκείνου θάνατον μέχρι τῆς Τισιφόνου ἀρχῆς δεδήλωται· νῦν δ' ἐπάνειμι ἔνθεν ἐπὶ ταῦτα ἐξέβην. ἐπεὶ γὰρ Ἀρχίδαμος ἐκ τῆς ἐπὶ Λεῦκτρα βοηθείας ἀπήγαγε τὸ στράτευμα, ἐνθυμηθέντες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὅτι οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι ἔτι οἴονται χρῆναι ἀκολουθεῖν καὶ οὐπω διακέοιντο οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὥσπερ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους διέθεσαν, μεταπέμπονται τὰς πόλεις ὅσαι βούλονται τῆς εἰρήνης μετέχειν ἢ βασιλεὺς 2 κατέπεμψε. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνῆλθον, δόγμα ἐποίησαντο μετὰ τῶν κοινωνεῖν βουλομένων ὁμόσαι τόνδε τὸν ὅρκον. Ἐμμενῶ ταῖς σπονδαῖς ἃς βασιλεὺς κατέπεμψε καὶ τοῖς ψηφίσμασι τοῖς Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων. ἐὰν δέ τις στρατεύῃ ἐπὶ τινα πόλιν τῶν ὁμοσασῶν τόνδε τὸν ὅρκον, βοηθήσω παντὶ σθένει. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι πάντες ἔχαιρον τῷ ὅρκῳ. Ἡλεῖοι δὲ ἀντέλεγον ὥς οὐδέοι αὐτονόμους ποιεῖν οὔτε Μαργανέας οὔτε Σκιλλουντίους οὔτε Τριφυλίους· σφετέρας 3 γὰρ εἶναι ταύτας τὰς πόλεις. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ψηφισάμενοι, ὥσπερ βασιλεὺς ἔγραψεν, αὐτονόμους εἶναι ὁμοίως καὶ μικρὰς καὶ μεγάλας πόλεις, ἐξέπεμψαν τοὺς ὀρκωτάς,

held the position of ruler up to the time when this narrative was written.¹ 358 B.C.

V. All the events, then, which took place in Thessaly in connection with Jason, and, after his death, down to the rule of Tisiphonus, have thus been described; now I return to the point from which I digressed to discuss these matters. When, namely, Archidamus had led back his army from the relief expedition to Leuctra, the Athenians, taking thought of the fact that the Peloponnesians still counted themselves bound to follow the Lacedaemonians, and that the latter were not yet in the same situation to which they had brought the Athenians, invited to Athens all the cities which wished to participate in the peace which the King had sent down. And when they had come together, they passed a resolution to take the following oath, in company with such as desired to share in the peace: "I will abide by the treaty which the King sent down, and by the decrees of the Athenians and their allies. And if anybody takes the field against any one of the cities which have sworn this oath, I will come to her aid with all my strength." Now all the others were pleased with the oath; the Eleans only opposed it, saying that it was not right to make either the Marganians, Scilluntians, or Triphylians independent, for these cities were theirs. But the Athenians and the others, after voting that both small and great cities alike should be independent, even as the King wrote, sent out the officers charged with administering the oath and directed them to

¹ Xenophon probably died in 354 B.C. Hence this portion of his narrative was written between 358 (see above) and 354 B.C.

καὶ ἐκέλευσαν τὰ μέγιστα τέλη ἐν ἐκάστη πόλει ὀρκῶσαι. καὶ ὥμοσαν πάντες πλὴν Ἡλείων.

- Ἐξ ὧν δὴ καὶ οἱ Μαντινεῖς, ὡς ἤδη αὐτόνομοι παντάπασιν ὄντες, συνηλθόν τε πάντες καὶ ἐψηφίσαντο μίαν πόλιν¹ τὴν Μαντίνειαν ποιεῖν καὶ
- 4 τειχίζειν τὴν πόλιν. οἱ δ' αὖ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἡγοῦντο, εἰ τοῦτο ἄνευ τῆς σφετέρας γνώμης ἔσοιτο, χαλεπὸν ἔσεσθαι. πέμπουσιν οὖν Ἀγησίλαον πρεσβευτὴν πρὸς τοὺς Μαντινέας, ὅτι ἐδόκει πατρικὸς φίλος αὐτοῖς εἶναι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκετο πρὸς αὐτούς, τὸν μὲν δῆμον τῶν Μαντινέων οἱ ἄρχοντες οὐκ ἤθελον συλλέξαι αὐτῷ, πρὸς δὲ σφᾶς ἐκέλευον λέγειν ὅτου δέοιτο. ὁ δὲ ὑπισχνεῖτο αὐτοῖς, ἐὰν νῦν ἐπίσχωσι τῆς τειχίσεως, ποιήσῃν ὥστε μετὰ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος γνώμης καὶ μὴ δαπανηρῶς τειχισθῆναι τὸ τεῖχος.
- 5 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπεκρίναντο ὅτι ἀδύνατον εἶη ἐπισχεῖν, δόγματος γεγεννημένου πάσῃ τῇ πόλει ἤδη τειχίζειν, ἐκ τούτου ὁ μὲν Ἀγησίλαος ἀπῆει ὀργιζόμενος· στρατεύειν γε μέντοι ἐπ' αὐτοὺς οὐ δυνατόν ἐδόκει εἶναι, ἐπ' αὐτονομίᾳ τῆς εἰρήνης γεγεννημένης. τοῖς δὲ Μαντινεῦσιν ἔπεμπον μὲν καὶ τῶν Ἀρκαδικῶν πόλεων τινες συντειχοῦντας, οἱ δὲ Ἡλείοι καὶ ἀργυρίου τρία τάλαντα συνεβάλοντο αὐτοῖς εἰς τὴν περὶ τὸ τεῖχος δαπάνην. καὶ οἱ μὲν Μαντινεῖς περὶ ταῦτ' ἦσαν.

- 6 Τῶν δὲ Τεγεατῶν οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Καλλίβιον καὶ Πρόξενον ἐνήγον ἐπὶ τὸ συνιέναι τε πᾶν τὸ

¹ πόλιν MSS.: πόλιν Kel.

administer it to the highest authorities in each city. 871 a.c.
And all took the oath except the Eleans.

As a natural result of these proceedings the Mantineans, feeling that they were now entirely independent, all came together and voted to make Mantinea a single¹ city and to put a wall about it. But the Lacedaemonians, on the other hand, thought that it would be a grievous thing if this were done without their approval. They accordingly sent Agesilaus as ambassador to the Mantineans, because he was regarded as an ancestral friend of theirs.² Now when he had come to them, the officials refused to assemble for him the Mantinean people, but bade him tell them what he desired. He then offered them his promise that, if they would desist from their wall-building for the present, he would arrange matters so that the wall should be constructed with the approval of Lacedaemon and without great expense. And when they replied that it was impossible to desist, since a resolution to build at once had been adopted by the entire city, Agesilaus thereupon departed in anger. It did not seem to be possible, however, to make an expedition against them, inasmuch as the peace had been concluded on the basis of independence. Meanwhile some of the Arcadian cities sent men to help the Mantineans in their building, and the Eleans made them a contribution of three talents in money toward the expense of the wall. The Mantineans, then, were occupied with this work.

Among the Tegeans, on the other hand, the fol- 870 a.c.
lowers of Callibius and Proxenus were making efforts to the end that all the people of Arcadia should

¹ *cp.* v. ii. 7. ² *cp.* v. ii. 3.

- Ἄρκαδικόν, καὶ ὃ τι νικῶν ἐν τῷ κοινῷ, τοῦτο κύριον εἶναι καὶ τῶν πόλεων· οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Στάσιππον ἔπραττον ἑὰν τε κατὰ χώραν τὴν
- 7 πόλιν καὶ τοῖς πατρίοις νόμοις χρῆσθαι. ἡττώμενοι δὲ οἱ περὶ τὸν Πρόξενον καὶ Καλλίβιον ἐν τοῖς θεαροῖς, νομίσαντες, εἰ συνέλθοι ὁ δῆμος, πολὺ ἂν τῷ πλήθει κρατῆσαι, ἐκφέρονται τὰ ὄπλα. ἰδόντες δὲ τοῦτο οἱ περὶ τὸν Στάσιππον καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀνθωπλίσαντο, καὶ ἀριθμῷ μὲν¹ ἐλάττους ἐγένοντο· ἐπεὶ μέντοι εἰς μάχην ὥρμησαν, τὸν μὲν Πρόξενον καὶ ἄλλους ὀλίγους μετ' αὐτοῦ ἀποκτείνουσι, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους τρεψάμενοι οὐκ ἐδίωκον· καὶ γὰρ τοιοῦτος ὁ Στάσιππος ἦν οἷος μὴ βούλεσθαι πολλοὺς ἀποκτινύναι τῶν
- 8 πολιτῶν· οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Καλλίβιον ἀνακεχωρηκότες ὑπὸ τὸ πρὸς Μαντινείας τεῖχος καὶ τὰς πύλας, ἐπεὶ οὐκέτι αὐτοῖς οἱ ἐναντίοι ἐπεχειροῦν, ἡσυχίαν εἶχον ἡθροισμένοι. καὶ πάλαι μὲν ἐπέπομφεσαν ἐπὶ τοὺς Μαντινέας βοηθεῖν κελεύοντες· πρὸς δὲ τοὺς περὶ Στάσιππον διελέγοντο περὶ συναλλαγῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καταφανεῖς ἦσαν οἱ Μαντινεῖς προσιόντες, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἀναπηδῶντες ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἐκέλευον βοηθεῖν τὴν ταχίστην, καὶ βοῶντες σπεύδειν διεκελεύοντο· ἄλλοι δὲ ἀνοί-
- 9 γουσι τὰς πύλας αὐτοῖς. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Στάσιππον ὥς ἦσθοντο τὸ γιγνόμενον, ἐκπίπτουσι κατὰ τὰς ἐπὶ τὸ Παλλάντιον φερούσας πύλας, καὶ φθάνουσι πρὶν καταληφθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν διωκόντων εἰς τὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος νεῶν καταφυγόντες,² καὶ ἐγκλεισάμενοι ἡσυχίαν εἶχον. οἱ δὲ μεταδιώ-

¹ After μὲν the MSS. have οὐκ: Kel. brackets, following Dobrée. ² καταφυγόντες MSS.: καταφεύγοντες Kel.

unite, and that whatever measure was carried in the common assembly should be binding on the several cities as well; but the followers of Stasippus made it their policy to leave their city undisturbed and to live under the laws of their fathers. Now the followers of Proxenus and Callibius, defeated in the council of the magistrates, and conceiving the thought that if the people came together they would prove far superior in numbers, gathered openly under arms. Upon seeing this the followers of Stasippus also armed themselves in their turn, and they did indeed prove fewer in number; when, however, they had set forth for battle, they killed Proxenus and a few others along with him, but although they put the rest to flight they did not pursue them; for Stasippus was the sort of man not to desire to kill many of his fellow-citizens. Then the followers of Callibius, who had retired to a position under the city wall and the gates on the side toward Mantinea, inasmuch as their adversaries were no longer attacking them, remained quietly gathered there. They had long before this sent to the Mantineans bidding them come to their aid, but with the followers of Stasippus they were negotiating for a reconciliation. When, however, the Mantineans were to be seen approaching, some of them leaped upon the wall, urged the Mantineans to come on to their assistance with all possible speed, and with shouts exhorted them to hurry; others meanwhile opened the gates to them. Now when the followers of Stasippus perceived what was going on, they rushed out by the gates leading to Pallantium, gained refuge in the temple of Artemis before they could be overtaken by their pursuers, and after shutting themselves in, remained quiet there.

ξαντες ἐχθροὶ αὐτῶν ἀναβάντες ἐπὶ τὸν νεὼν καὶ τὴν ὀροφὴν διελόντες ἔπαιον ταῖς κεραμίσιν. οἱ δὲ ἐπεὶ ἔγνωσαν τὴν ἀνάγκην, παύεσθαί τε ἐκέλευον καὶ ἐξιέναι ἔφασαν. οἱ δ' ἐναντίοι ὡς ὑποχειρίους ἔλαβον αὐτούς, δήσαντες καὶ ἀναβαλόντες ἐφ' ἄμαξαν¹ ἀπήγαγον ἐς Τεγέαν. ἐκεῖ δὲ μετὰ τῶν Μαντινέων καταγνόντες ἀπέκτειναν.

- 10 Τούτων δὲ γιγνομένων ἔφυγον εἰς Λακεδαίμονα τῶν περὶ Στάσιππον Τεγεατῶν περὶ ὀκτακοσίους. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐδόκει βοηθητέον εἶναι κατὰ τοὺς ὅρκους τοῖς τεθνεῶσί τε τῶν Τεγεατῶν καὶ ἐκπεπτωκόσι· καὶ οὕτω στρατεύουσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Μαντινέας, ὡς παρὰ τοὺς ὅρκους σὺν ὅπλοις ἐληλυθότων αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς Τεγεάτας. καὶ φρουρὰν μὲν οἱ ἔφοροι ἔφαινον, Ἀγησίλαον δ' 11 ἐκέλευεν ἢ πόλιν ἡγεῖσθαι. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι Ἀρκάδες εἰς Ἀσέαν συνελέγοντο· Ὀρχομενίων δὲ οὐκ ἐθελόντων κοινωνεῖν τοῦ Ἀρκαδικοῦ διὰ τὴν πρὸς Μαντινέας ἔχθραν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δεδεδυμένων εἰς τὴν πόλιν τὸ ἐν Κορίνθῳ συνειλεγμένον ξενικόν, οὗ Πολύτροπος ἦρχεν, ἔμενον οἴκοι οἱ Μαντινεῖς τούτων ἐπιμελόμενοι· Ἡραεῖς δὲ καὶ Λεπρεᾶται συνεστρατεύοντο τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπὶ 12 τοὺς Μαντινέας. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος, ἐπεὶ ἐγένετο αὐτῷ τὰ διαβατήρια, εὐθὺς ἐχώρει ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν. καὶ καταλαβὼν πόλιν ὁμορον οὔσαν

¹ ἐφ' ἄμαξαν Hartman: ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρμάμαξαν MSS., followed by Kel.

But their foes who had followed after them climbed upon the temple, broke through the roof, and pelted them with the tiles. And when the people within realized the hopelessness of their situation, they bade them stop and said they would come out. Then their adversaries, as soon as they had got them in their power, bound them, threw them into a wagon, and carried them back to Tegea. There, in company with the Mantineans, they passed sentence upon them and put them to death. 370 B.C.

While these things were going on, about eight hundred of the Tegeans who were partisans of Stasippus fled to Lacedaemon as exiles, and subsequently the Lacedaemonians decided that, in accordance with their oaths, they ought to avenge the Tegeans who had been slain and to aid those who had been banished. So they decided to make an expedition against the Mantineans on the ground that, in violation of their oaths, they had proceeded in arms against the Tegeans. The ephors accordingly called out the ban, and the state directed Agesilaus to act as commander. Now most of the Arcadians were gathering together at Asea. But since the Orchomenians refused to be members of the Arcadian League on account of their enmity toward the Mantineans, and had even received into their city the mercenary force, commanded by Polytropus, which had been collected at Corinth, the Mantineans were remaining at home and keeping watch upon them. On the other hand, the Heraeans and Lepreans were serving with the Lacedaemonians against the Mantineans. Agesilaus, then, when his sacrifices at the frontier proved favourable, at once proceeded to march against Arcadia. And having

Εὐταιαν, καὶ εὐρὼν ἐκεῖ τοὺς μὲν πρεσβυτέρους καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τοὺς παῖδας οἰκοῦντας ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις, τοὺς δ' ἐν τῇ στρατευσίμῳ ἡλικία οἰχομένους εἰς τὸ Ἀρκαδικόν, ὅμως οὐκ ἠδίκησε τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλ' εἶα τε αὐτοὺς οἰκεῖν, καὶ ὠνούμενοι ἐλάμβανον ὅσων δέοιντο· εἰ δέ τι καὶ ἡρπάσθη, ὅτε εἰσῆι εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἐξευρὼν ἀπέδωκε. καὶ ἐπφοδόμει δὲ τὸ τεῖχος αὐτῶν ὅσα ἐδεῖτο, ἕωσπερ αὐτοῦ διέτριβεν ἀναμένων τοὺς μετὰ Πολυτρόπου μισθοφόρους.

- 13 Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ οἱ Μαντινεῖς στρατεύουσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ὀρχομενίους. καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ τείχους μάλα χαλεπῶς ἀπῆλθον, καὶ ἀπέθανόν τινες αὐτῶν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀποχωροῦντες ἐν τῇ Ἐλυμῖα ἐγένοντο, καὶ οἱ μὲν Ὀρχομενιοὶ ὀπλῖται οὐκέτι ἠκολούθουν, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Πολύτροπον ἐπέκειντο καὶ μάλα θρασέως, ἐνταῦθα γνόντες οἱ Μαντινεῖς ὥς, εἰ μὴ ἀποκρούσονται αὐτούς, ὅτι πολλοὶ σφῶν κατακοντισθήσονται, ὑποστρέψαντες ὁμόσε
- 14 ἐχώρησαν τοῖς ἐπικειμένοις. καὶ ὁ μὲν Πολύτροπος μαχόμενος αὐτοῦ ἀποθνήσκει· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων φευγόντων πάμπολλοι ἂν ἀπέθανον, εἰ μὴ οἱ Φλειάσιοι ἱππεῖς παραγενόμενοι καὶ εἰς τὸ ὀπισθεν περιελάσαντες τῶν Μαντινέων ἐπέσχον αὐτοὺς τῆς διώξεως. καὶ οἱ μὲν Μαντινεῖς ταῦτα πράξαντες οἴκαδε ἀπῆλθον.

- 15 Ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος ἀκούσας ταῦτα, καὶ νομίσας οὐκ ἂν ἔτι συμμείξαι αὐτῷ τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ Ὀρχομενοῦ μισθοφόρους, οὕτω προΐει. καὶ τῇ μὲν

occupied Eutaea, which was a city on the border, 370 B.C. and found there the older men, the women, and the children living in their houses, while the men of military age had gone to the Arcadian assembly, he nevertheless did the city no harm, but allowed the people to continue to dwell there, and his troops got everything that they needed by purchase; and if anything had been taken as booty at the time when he entered the city, he searched it out and gave it back. He also occupied himself, during the whole time that he spent there awaiting the mercenaries under Polytropus, in repairing all those portions of the city wall which needed it.

Meanwhile the Mantineans made an expedition against the Orchomenians. And they came off very badly from their attack upon the city wall, and some of them were killed; but when in their retreat they had reached Elymia and, although the Orchomenian hoplites now desisted from following them, Polytropus and his troops were very boldly pressing upon them, then the Mantineans, realizing that if they did not beat them off many of their own number would be struck down by javelins, turned about and charged their assailants. Polytropus fell fighting where he stood; the rest fled, and very many of them would have been killed had not the Phliasian horsemen arrived, and by riding around to the rear of the Mantineans made them desist from their pursuit. The Mantineans, then, after accomplishing these things, went back home.

Agesilaus heard of this affair and came to the conclusion that the mercenaries from Orchomenus could not now join him; under these circumstances, therefore, he continued his advance. On the first day

πρώτῃ ἐν τῇ Τεγεατίδι χώρα ἔδειπνοποιήσατο, τῇ δ' ὑστεραία διαβαίνει εἰς τὴν Μαντινικὴν, καὶ ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο ὑπὸ τοῖς πρὸς ἐστέραν ὄρεσι τῆς Μαντινείας· καὶ ἐκεῖ ἅμα ἐδήου τὴν χώραν καὶ ἐπόρθει τοὺς ἀγρούς. τῶν δὲ Ἀρκάδων οἱ συλλεγόντες ἐν τῇ Ἀσέᾳ νυκτὸς παρήλθον εἰς τὴν Τεγέαν. τῇ δ' ὑστεραία ὁ μὲν Ἀγησίλαος ἀπέχων Μαντινείας ὅσον εἴκοσι σταδίου ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο· οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς Τεγέας Ἀρκάδες, ἐχόμενοι τῶν μεταξὺ Μαντινείας καὶ Τεγέας ὁρῶν παρήσαν μάλα πολλοὶ ὀπλίται, συμμειξαι βουλόμενοι τοῖς Μαντινεῦσι· καὶ γὰρ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι οὐ πανδημεὶ ἠκολούθουν αὐτοῖς· καὶ ἦσαν μὲν τινες οἱ τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ἔπειθον χωρὶς τούτοις ἐπιθέσθαι· ὁ δὲ φοβούμενος μὴ ἐν ὄσῳ πρὸς ἐκείνους πορεύοιτο, ἐκ τῆς πόλεως οἱ Μαντινεῖς ἐξελθόντες κατὰ κέρας τε καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ὀπισθεν ἐπιπέσοιεν αὐτῷ, ἔγνω κράτιστον εἶναι ἐᾶσαι συνελθεῖν αὐτούς, καὶ εἰ βούλονται μάχεσθαι, ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου καὶ φανεροῦ τὴν μάχην ποιεῖσθαι.

Καὶ οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἀρκάδες ὁμοῦ ἤδη ἐγεγέννητο.
 17 οἱ δ' ἐκ τοῦ Ὀρχομενοῦ πελτασταὶ καὶ οἱ τῶν Φλειασίων ἱππεῖς μετ' αὐτῶν τῆς νυκτὸς διεξελθόντες παρὰ τὴν Μαντινείαν θυομένῳ τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ πρὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐπιφαίνονται ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ ἐποίησαν τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους εἰς τὰς τάξεις δραμεῖν, Ἀγησίλαον δ' ἐπαναχωρῆσαι πρὸς τὰ ὄπλα. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκείνοι μὲν ἐγνώσθησαν φίλοι ὄντες, Ἀγησίλαος δὲ ἐκεκαλλιέρητο, ἐξ ἀρίστου προῆγε τὸ στράτευμα. ἐσπέρας δ' ἐπιγιγνομένης ἔλαθε στρατοπεδευσά-

he took dinner in the territory of Tegea, and on the following day crossed into the territory of the Mantineans and encamped at the foot of the mountains to the west of Mantinea; there at the same time he laid waste the land and plundered the farms. Meanwhile the Arcadians who had assembled at Asea made their way by night to Tegea. On the next day Agesilaus encamped at a distance of about twenty stadia from Mantinea. But the Arcadians from Tegea, a very large force of hoplites, made their appearance; they were skirting the mountains between Mantinea and Tegea, desiring to effect a junction with the Mantineans, for the Argives, who came with them, were not in full force. And there were some who tried to persuade Agesilaus to attack these troops separately; he, however, fearing that while he was marching against them the Mantineans might issue forth from their city and attack him in flank and rear, judged it best to allow the two hostile forces to come together and, in case they wished to fight, to conduct the battle in regular fashion and in the open.

The Arcadians from Tegea had by now effected a junction with the Mantineans. On the other hand, the peltasts from Orchomenus, and with them the horsemen of the Phliasians, made their way during the night past Mantinea and appeared as Agesilaus was sacrificing in front of his camp at day-break; and they caused the Lacedaemonians to fall hurriedly into line and Agesilaus himself to retire to the camp. But when they had been recognized as friends, and Agesilaus had obtained favourable omens, immediately after breakfast he led his army forward. Later, as evening was coming on, he unwittingly

- μενος εἰς τὸν ὀπισθεν κόλπον τῆς Μαντινικῆς,
 18 μάλα σύνεγγυς καὶ κύκλῳ ὄρη ἔχοντα. τῇ δ' ὑστεραία ἄμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐθύετο μὲν πρὸ τοῦ στρατεύματος· ἰδὼν δὲ συλλεγομένους ἐκ τῆς τῶν Μαντινέων πόλεως ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄρεσι τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς οὐράς τοῦ ἑαυτῶν στρατεύματος, ἔγνω ἐξακτέον εἶναι τὴν ταχίστην ἐκ τοῦ κόλπου. εἰ μὲν οὖν αὐτὸς ἀφηγοῖτο, ἐφοβεῖτο μὴ τῇ οὐρᾷ ἐπίθωιντο οἱ πολέμιοι· ἡσυχίαν δὲ ἔχων καὶ τὰ ὄπλα πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους φαίνων, ἀναστρέψαντας ἐκέλευε τοὺς ἀπ' οὐράς εἰς δόρυ ὀπισθεν τῆς φάλαγγος ἡγεῖσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν· καὶ οὕτως ἄμα ἔκ τε τοῦ στενοῦ ἐξῆγε καὶ ἰσχυροτέραν ἀεὶ τὴν φάλαγγα
 19 ἐποιεῖτο. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐδεδίπλωτο ἡ φάλαγξ, οὕτως ἔχοντι τῷ ὀπλιτικῷ προελθὼν εἰς τὸ πεδῖον ἐξέτεινε πάλιν ἐπ' ἐννέα ἢ δέκα τὸ στράτευμα ἀσπίδων. οἱ μέντοι Μαντινεῖς οὐκέτι ἐξῆσαν· καὶ γὰρ οἱ Ἥλεῖοι συστρατευόμενοι αὐτοῖς ἔπειθον μὴ ποιεῖσθαι μάχην, πρὶν οἱ Θηβαῖοι παραγένωντο· εὖ δὲ εἰδέναι ἔφασαν ὅτι παρέσوينτο· καὶ γὰρ δέκα τάλαντα δεδανεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς παρὰ
 20 σφῶν εἰς τὴν βοήθειαν. οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἀρκάδες ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες ἡσυχίαν εἶχον ἐν τῇ Μαντινείᾳ·

¹ The scene is a long, narrow valley. The rear (οὐρά) of the Lacedaemonian line is at the head of the valley, while the van, where Agesilaus has his position, is at the opening of the valley into the plain. The enemy are gathering upon the hills on one side of the valley. Agesilaus first faces his troops toward the enemy (τὰ ὄπλα . . . φαίνων). The marching line is thus transformed, technically, into a "phalanx,"

encamped in the valley which lies behind the town of Mantinea; it is surrounded by mountains which are only a short distance away. On the following day at daybreak he was offering sacrifices in front of the army; and seeing that troops were gathering from the city of the Mantineans on the mountains which were above the rear of his army, he decided that he must lead his men out of the valley with all possible speed. Now he feared that if he led the way himself, the enemy would fall upon his rear; accordingly, while keeping quiet and presenting his front toward the enemy, he ordered the men at the rear to face about to the right and march along behind the phalanx toward him. And in this manner he was at the same time leading them out of the narrow valley and making the phalanx continually stronger.¹ When the phalanx had thus been doubled in depth, he proceeded into the plain with the hoplites in this formation, and then extended the army again into a line nine or ten shields deep. The Mantineans, however, now desisted from coming forth from their city, for the Eleans, who were making the campaign with them, urged them not to fight a battle until the Thebans arrived; and they said they were quite sure that the Thebans would come, for they had borrowed ten talents from the Eleans themselves for the expenses of the expedition to aid them. The Arcadians, then, upon hearing this, remained quiet in Mantinea;

or line of battle. Then, by the ἀναστροφή (see note on ii. 21), the οὐρά, i.e. the original rear of the marching line, is folded back and gradually drawn out, "behind the phalanx," to the open end of the valley. The entire army now marches out into the plain. There the process just described is reversed, so bringing the line back to its original form.

ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος καὶ μάλα βουλομενος ἀπάγει
τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ γὰρ ἦν μέσος χειμῶν, ὅμως
ἐκεῖ κατέμεινε τρεῖς ἡμέρας, οὐ πολὺ ἀπέχων
τῆς Μαντινέων πόλεως, ὅπως μὴ δοκοίη φοβού-
μενος σπεύδειν τὴν ἄφοδον. τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ πρῶ-
ἀριστοποιησάμενος ἀπῆγεν ὡς στρατοπεδευσό-
μενος ἔνθαπερ τὸ πρῶτον ἀπὸ τῆς Εὐταίας
21 ἐξώρμητο. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδεὶς ἐφαίνετο τῶν Ἀρκά-
δων, ἤγε τὴν ταχίστην εἰς τὴν Εὐταίαν, καίπερ
μάλα ὀψίζων, βουλόμενος ἀπαγαγεῖν τοὺς ὀπλίτας
πρὶν καὶ τὰ πυρὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἰδεῖν, ἵνα μὴ
τις εἴποι ὡς φεύγων ἀπαγάγοι. ἐκ γὰρ τῆς
πρόσθεν ἀθυμίας ἐδόκει τι ἀνειληφέναι τὴν πόλιν,
ὅτι καὶ ἐνεβεβλήκει εἰς τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν καὶ δη-
οῦντι τὴν χώραν οὐδεὶς ἠθελήκει μάχεσθαι. ἐπεὶ
δ' ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ ἐγένετο, τοὺς μὲν Σπαρτιάτας
ἀπέλυσεν οἴκαδε, τοὺς δὲ περιοίκους ἀφῆκεν ἐπὶ
τὰς ἑαυτῶν πόλεις.

22 Οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες, ἐπεὶ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἀπεληλύθει
καὶ ἦσθοντο διαλελυμένον αὐτῷ τὸ στράτευμα,
αὐτοὶ δὲ ἠθροισμένοι ἐτύγχανον, στρατεύουσιν
ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑραιᾶς, ὅτι τε οὐκ ἠθελον τοῦ Ἀρκαδι-
κοῦ μετέχειν καὶ ὅτι συνεισεβεβλήκεσαν εἰς τὴν
Ἀρκαδίαν μετὰ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων. ἐμβαλόντες
δ' ἐνεπίμπρων τε τὰς οἰκίας καὶ ἔκοπτον τὰ
δένδρα.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ Θηβαῖοι βεβοηθηκότες παρεῖναι
ἐλέγοντο εἰς τὴν Μαντίνειαν, οὕτως ἀπαλλάτ-
τονται ἐκ τῆς Ἑραιᾶς καὶ συμμαγνύουσι τοῖς

and Agesilaus, even though he was exceedingly desirous of leading back his army—for it was mid-winter—nevertheless remained there for three days, not far away from the city of the Mantineans, that he might not be thought to be hurrying his departure out of fear. On the fourth day, however, after breakfasting early he began his homeward march, intending to encamp at the place where he had originally made camp on his departure from Eutaea. But since none of the Arcadians appeared, he continued his march as rapidly as possible to Eutaea, even though it was very late, with the desire of getting his hoplites away before they even saw the enemy's fires, so that no one could say that he had withdrawn in flight. For he seemed to have brought the state some relief from its former despondency, inasmuch as he had invaded Arcadia and, though he laid waste the land, none had been willing to fight with him. And after he had arrived in Laconia, he let the Spartiatae go home and dismissed the Perioeci to their several cities.

As for the Arcadians, since Agesilaus had departed and they learned that his army had been disbanded, while they themselves were still gathered together, they made an expedition against the Heraeans, not only because they refused to be members of the Arcadian League, but also because they had joined with the Lacedaemonians in invading Arcadia. And after entering the territory of Heraea they proceeded to burn the houses and cut down the trees.

It was not until the Thebans with their supporting force were reported to have arrived in Mantinea that the Arcadians departed from Heraea and united

23 **Θηβαίοις.** ὥς δὲ ὁμοῦ ἐγένοντο, οἱ μὲν Θηβαῖοι καλῶς σφίσιν ὄντο ἔχειν, ἐπεὶ ἐβεβοηθήκεσαν μὲν, πολέμιον δὲ οὐδένα ἔτι ἐώρων ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, καὶ ἀπιέναι παρεσκευάζοντο· οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες καὶ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Ἡλεῖοι ἔπειθον αὐτοὺς ἡγεῖσθαι ὥς τάχιστα εἰς τὴν Λακωνικὴν, ἐπιδεικνύοντες μὲν τὸ ἐαυτῶν πλῆθος, ὑπερεπαινούντες δὲ τὸ τῶν Θηβαίων στράτευμα. καὶ γὰρ οἱ μὲν Βοιωτοὶ ἐγυμνάζοντο πάντες περὶ τὰ ὄπλα, ἀγαλλόμενοι τῇ ἐν Λεύκτροις νίκῃ· ἡκολούθουν δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ Φωκεῖς ὑπήκοοι γεγεννημένοι καὶ Εὐβοεῖς ἀπὸ πασῶν τῶν πόλεων καὶ Λοκροὶ ἀμφότεροι καὶ Ἀκαρνᾶνες καὶ Ἡρακλεῶται καὶ Μηλιεῖς· ἡκολούθουν δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκ Θετταλίας ἱππεῖς τε καὶ πελτασταί. ταῦτα δὲ συνιδόμενοι καὶ τὴν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι ἐρημίαν λέγοντες ἰκέτευον μηδαμῶς ἀποτρέπεσθαι, πρὶν ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων χώραν.

24 Οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ἤκουον μὲν ταῦτα, ἀντελογίζοντο δὲ ὅτι δυσεμβολωτάτῃ μὲν ἢ Λακωνικῇ ἐλέγετο εἶναι, φρουρὰς δὲ καθεστάναι ἐνόμιζον ἐπὶ τοῖς εὐπροσοδωτάτοις. καὶ γὰρ ἦν Ἰσχόλαος μὲν ἐν Οἰῷ τῆς Σκιρίτιδος, ἔχων νεοδαμώδεις τε φρουροὺς καὶ τῶν Τεγεατῶν φυγάδων τοὺς νεωτάτους περὶ τετρακοσίους· ἦν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ Λεύκτρῳ ὑπὲρ τῆς Μαλεάτιδος ἄλλη φρουρά. ἐλογίζοντο δὲ καὶ τοῦτο οἱ Θηβαῖοι, ὥς καὶ συνελθοῦσαν ἂν ταχέως τὴν τῶν Λακε-

with the Thebans. When they had joined forces, the 870 a.c.
Thebans thought that matters stood well with them, inasmuch as they had come to bring aid and there was no longer an enemy to be seen in the land; they accordingly made their preparations for going back. But the Arcadians, Argives, and Eleans urged them to lead the way with all speed into Laconia, pointing out the number of their own troops¹ and praising beyond measure the army of the Thebans. For all the Boeotians were now training themselves in the craft of arms, glorying in their victory at Leuctra; and they were reinforced by the Phocians, who had become their subjects, the Euboeans from all their cities, both the Locrian peoples,² the Acarnanians, the Heracleots, and the Malians; they were also reinforced by horsemen and peltasts from Thessaly. The Arcadians, then, seeing all this and describing the dearth of men in Lacedaemon, begged them by no means to turn back before invading the country of the Lacedaemonians.

But while the Thebans listened to this request, they took into account, on the other hand, the fact that Laconia was said to be exceedingly difficult to enter, and that they believed garrisons were posted at the points of easiest access. For Ischolaus was at Oeum, in Sciritis, commanding a garrison composed of emancipated Helots and about four hundred of the youngest of the Tegean exiles; and there was another garrison also at Leuctrum, above Maleatis. The Thebans likewise weighed this consideration, that the force of the Lacedaemonians would gather

¹ The Theban army according to Plutarch (*Ages.* 31) numbered 40,000 hoplites, while Diodorus (xv. 62) puts the combined forces at more than 70,000 men.

² *cp.* iv. ii. 17.

- δαιμονίων δύναμιν καὶ μάχεσθαι ἂν αὐτοὺς οὐ-
 δαμοῦ ἄμεινον ἢ ἐν τῇ ἑαυτῶν. ἃ δὴ πάντα
 λογιζόμενοι οὐ πᾶν προπετεῖς ἦσαν εἰς τὸ ἰέναι
 25 εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα. ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἦκον ἔκ τε
 Καρυῶν λέγοντες τὴν ἐρημίαν καὶ ὑπισχνούμενοι
 αὐτοὶ ἡγήσεσθαι, καὶ κελεύοντες, ἅν τι ἐξαπατῶν-
 τες φαίνονται, ἀποσφάττειν σφᾶς, παρῆσαν δέ
 τινες καὶ τῶν περιόικων ἐπικαλούμενοι καὶ φά-
 σκοντες ἀποστήσεσθαι, εἰ μόνον φανείησαν εἰς
 τὴν χώραν, ἔλεγον δὲ ὥς καὶ νῦν καλούμενοι οἱ
 περίοικοι ὑπὸ τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν οὐκ ἐθέλοιεν
 βοηθεῖν· πάντα οὖν ταῦτα ἀκούοντες καὶ παρὰ
 πάντων οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἐπείσθησαν, καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν
 κατὰ Καρύας ἐνέβαλον, οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες κατὰ
 Οἶον τῆς Σκιρίτιδος.
- 20 Καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ δύσβατα προελθὼν ὁ
 Ἰσχόλαος ὑφίστατο, οὐδένα ἂν ταύτῃ γε ἔφασαν
 ἀναβῆναι· νῦν δὲ βουλόμενος τοῖς Οἰάταις
 συμμάχοις χρῆσθαι, ἔμεινεν ἐν τῇ κώμῃ· οἱ
 δὲ ἀνέβησαν παμπληθεῖς Ἀρκάδες. ἐνταῦθα
 δὴ ἀντιπρόσωποι μὲν μαχόμενοι οἱ περὶ τὸν
 Ἰσχόλαον ἐπεκράτουν· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ὀπισθεν καὶ
 ἐκ πλαγίου καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκιῶν ἀναβαίνοντες
 ἔπαιον καὶ ἔβαλλον αὐτούς, ἐνταῦθα ὃ τε Ἰσχό-
 λαος ἀποθνήσκει καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες, εἰ μὴ τις
- 27 ἀμφιγνοηθεὶς διέφυγε. διαπραξάμενοι δὲ ταῦτα
 οἱ Ἀρκάδες ἐπορεύοντο πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους ἐπὶ
 τὰς Καρύας. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ἐπεὶ ἦσθοντο τὰ
 πεπραγμένα ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀρκάδων, πολὺ δὲ θρασύ-

quickly and that they would fight nowhere better 870 B.C.
 than in their own country. Therefore, taking into
 account all these things, they were by no means
 eager to proceed into Lacedaemon. But when people
 had come from Caryae telling of the dearth of men,
 promising that they would themselves act as guides,
 and bidding the Thebans slay them if they were
 found to be practising any deception, and when,
 further, some of the Perioeci appeared, asking the
 Thebans to come to their aid, engaging to revolt if
 only they would show themselves in the land, and
 saying also that even now the Perioeci when sum-
 moned by the Spartiatae were refusing to go and
 help them—as a result, then, of hearing all these
 reports, in which all agreed, the Thebans were won
 over, and pushed in with their own forces by way of
 Caryae, while the Arcadians went by way of Oeum, in
 Sciritis.

Now if Ischolaus had advanced to the difficult
 part of the pass and had made his stand there, no
 one, by all accounts, could have accomplished the
 ascent by that route at least; but in fact, since he
 wished to employ the Oeans as allies, he remained
 in the village, and the Arcadians ascended the pass
 in very great numbers. There, in the face-to-face
 fighting, the troops with Ischolaus were victorious;
 but when the enemy showered blows and missiles
 upon them from the rear, on the flank, and from the
 houses upon which they mounted, then Ischolaus was
 killed and all the rest as well, unless one or another
 slipped through unrecognized. After achieving this
 deed the Arcadians marched to join the Thebans at
 Caryae; and when the Thebans heard what had been
 accomplished by the Arcadians, they proceeded to

τερον κατέβαινον. καὶ τὴν μὲν Σελλασίαν εὐθὺς ἔκαον καὶ ἐπόρθουν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἐγένοντο ἐν τῷ τεμένει τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, ἐνταῦθα ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο· τῇ δ' ὑστεραία ἐπορεύοντο.

Καὶ διὰ μὲν τῆς γεφύρας οὐδ' ἐπεχείρουν διαβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν· καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀλέας ἱερῷ ἐφαίνοντο ἐναντίοι οἱ ὀπλῖται. ἐν δεξιᾷ δ' ἔχοντες τὸν Εὐρώταν παρῆσαν κάοντες καὶ πορ-
 28 θοῦντες πολλῶν κάγαθῶν μεστὰς οἰκίας. τῶν δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως αἱ μὲν γυναῖκες οὐδὲ τὸν καπνὸν ὀρώσαι ἠνείχοντο, ἅτε οὐδέποτε ἰδοῦσαι πολεμίους· οἱ δὲ Σπαρτιᾶται ἀτείχιστον ἔχοντες τὴν πόλιν, ἄλλος ἄλλη διαταχθεῖς, μῖλα ὀλίγοι καὶ ὄντες καὶ φαινόμενοι ἐφύλαττον. ἔδοξε δὲ τοῖς τέλεσι καὶ προειπεῖν τοῖς Εἰλώσιν, εἴ τις βούλοιτο ὄπλα λαμβάνειν καὶ εἰς τάξιν τίθεσθαι, τὰ πιστὰ λαμβάνειν ὥς ἐλευθέρους ἐσομένους ὅσοι συμ-
 29 πολεμήσαιεν. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔφασαν ἀπογράψασθαι πλεον ἢ ἑξακισχιλίους, ὥστε φόβον αὐτοὶ παρεῖχον συντεταγμένοι καὶ λίαν ἐδόκουν πολλοὶ εἶναι· ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἔμενον μὲν οἱ ἔξ Ὀρχομενοῦ μισθοφόροι, ἐβοήθησαν δὲ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις Φλειάσιοί τε καὶ Κορίνθιοι καὶ Ἐπιδάυριοι καὶ Πελληνεῖς καὶ ἄλλαι δέ τινες τῶν πόλεων, ἥδη καὶ τοὺς ἀπογεγραμμένους ἦττον ὠρρώδουν.

30 Ὡς δὲ προῖον τὸ στράτευμα ἐγένετο κατ' Ἀμύκλας, ταύτῃ διέβαινον τὸν Εὐρώταν. καὶ οἱ μὲν Θηβαῖοι, ὅπου στρατοπεδεύοιντο, εὐθὺς

HELLENICA, VI. v. 27-30

make the descent with far greater boldness. Coming to Sellasia, they at once burned and pillaged it; but when they arrived in the plain, they encamped there, in the sacred precinct of Apollo. The next day they marched on. 370 B.C.

Now they did not even make the attempt to cross over by the bridge against Sparta, for in the sanctuary of Athena Alea the hoplites were to be seen, ready to oppose them; but keeping the Eurotas on their right they passed along, burning and plundering houses full of many valuable things. As for the people in the city, the women could not even endure the sight of the smoke, since they had never seen an enemy; but the Spartiatae, their city being without walls, were posted at intervals, one here, another there, and so kept guard, though they were, and were seen to be, very few in number. It was also determined by the authorities to make proclamation to the Helots that if any wished to take up arms and be assigned to a place in the ranks, they should be given a promise that all should be free who took part in the war. And it was said that at first more than six thousand enrolled themselves, so that they in their turn occasioned fear when they were marshalled together, and were thought to be all too numerous; but when the mercenaries from Orchomenus remained true, and the Lacedaemonians received aid from the Phliasians, Corinthians, Epidaurians, Pelleneans, and likewise some of the other states, then the Spartiatae were less fearful of those who had been enrolled.

Now when, in its onward march, the army of the enemy came opposite Amyclae, at this point they crossed the Eurotas. And wherever the Thebans encamped they at once threw down in front of their

- ὧν ἔκοπτον δένδρων κατέβαλλον πρὸ τῶν τάξεων ὥς ἐδύναντο πλείστα, καὶ οὕτως ἐφυλάττοντο· οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες τούτων τε οὐδὲν ἐποιοῦν, καταλείποντες δὲ τὰ ὄπλα εἰς ἀρπαγὴν ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας ἐτρέποντο.¹ ἐκ τούτου δὴ ἡμέρα τρίτη ἢ τετάρτη προῆλθον οἱ ἵππεῖς εἰς τὸν ἵππόδρομον εἰς Γαῖαόχου κατὰ τάξεις, οἳ τε Θηβαῖοι πάντες καὶ οἱ Ἡλεῖοι καὶ ὅσοι Φωκέων ἢ Θετταλῶν ἢ
- 31 Λοκρῶν ἵππεῖς παρήσαν. οἱ δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἵππεῖς, μάλα ὀλίγοι φαινόμενοι, ἀντιτεταγμένοι αὐτοῖς ἦσαν. ἐνέδραν δὲ ποιήσαντες ὀπλιτῶν τῶν νεωτέρων ὅσον τριακοσίων ἐν τῇ τῶν Τυνδαριδῶν, ἅμα οὗτοι μὲν ἐξέθεον, οἱ δ' ἵππεῖς ἤλαυνον. οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι οὐκ ἐδέξαντο, ἀλλ' ἐνέκλιναν. ἰδόντες δὲ ταῦτα πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν πεζῶν εἰς φυγὴν ὥρμησαν. ἐπεὶ μέντοι οἳ τε διώκοντες ἐπαύσαντο καὶ τὸ τῶν Θηβαίων στράτευμα ἔμενε, πάλιν δὴ κατεστρατοπεδεύ-
- 32 σαντο. καὶ τὸ μὲν μὴ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν προσβαλεῖν ἂν ἔτι αὐτοὺς ἤδη τι ἐδόκει θαρραλεώτερον εἶναι· ἐκεῖθεν μέντοι ἀπᾶραν τὸ στράτευμα ἐπορεύετο τὴν ἐφ' Ἑλος καὶ Γύθειον. καὶ τὰς μὲν ἀτειχίστους τῶν πόλεων ἐνεπίμπρασαν, Γυθείῳ δέ, ἔνθα τὰ νεώρια τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἦν, καὶ προσέβαλλον τρεῖς ἡμέρας. ἦσαν δέ τινες τῶν περιόικων οἱ καὶ ἐπέθεντο καὶ συνεστρατεύοντο τοῖς μετὰ Θηβαίων.

¹ ἐτρέποντο MSS. except B: ἐτράποντο Kel. with B.

¹ See note on iii. 6.

² A most striking indication of Xenophon's pro-Spartan feeling (see *Intro.* p. x) is found in the fact that he here omits all reference to the greatest of the humiliations which Sparta suffered at this time: (1) the re-establishment by Epaminondas, the Theban general, of the independence of

lines the greatest possible quantity of the trees which they cut down, and in this way guarded themselves; the Arcadians, however, did nothing of this sort, but left their camp behind them and turned their attention to plundering the houses. After this, on the third or fourth day of the invasion, the horsemen advanced to the race-course in the sanctuary of Poseidon Gaeaochus by divisions, the Thebans in full force, the Eleans, and all the horsemen who were there of the Phocians, Thessalians, or Locrians. And the horsemen of the Lacedaemonians, seemingly very few in number, were formed in line against them. Meanwhile the Lacedaemonians had set an ambush of the younger hoplites, about three hundred in number, in the house of the Tyndaridae,¹ and at the same moment these men rushed forth and their horsemen charged. The enemy, however, did not await their attack, but gave way. And on seeing this, many of the foot-soldiers also took to flight. But when the pursuers stopped and the army of the Thebans stood firm, the enemy encamped again. It now seemed somewhat more certain that they would make no further attempt upon the city; and in fact their army departed thence and took the road toward Helos and Gytheium. And they burned such of the towns as were unwallled and made a three days' attack upon Gytheium, where the Lacedaemonians had their dockyards. There were some of the Perioeci also who not only joined in this attack, but did regular service with the troops that followed the Thebans.²

Messenia, which for centuries had been subject to the Spartans; and (2) the founding of "the great city," Megalopolis, as the capital of an independent Arcadia. Nevertheless, Xenophon alludes several times in the following book to the *accomplished fact* of Messenian independence and to Megalopolis.

- 33 Ακούοντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐν φροντίδι ἦσαν ὃ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν περὶ Λακεδαιμονίων, καὶ ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίησαν κατὰ δόγμα βουλῆς. ἔτυχον δὲ παρόντες πρέσβεις Λακεδαιμονίων τε καὶ τῶν ἔτι ὑπολοίπων συμμάχων αὐτοῖς. ὅθεν δὴ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Ἄρακος καὶ Ὠκυλλος καὶ Φάραξ καὶ Ἐτυμοκλῆς καὶ Ὀλονθεὺς σχεδὸν πάντες παραπλήσια ἔλεγον. ἀνεμίμνησκόν τε γὰρ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ὥς αἰεὶ ποτε ἀλλήλοις ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις καιροῖς παρίσταντο ἐπ' ἀγαθοῖς· αὐτοὶ τε γὰρ ἔφασαν τοὺς τυράννους συνεκβαλεῖν Ἀθήνηθεν, καὶ Ἀθηναίους, ὅτε αὐτοὶ ἐπολιορκοῦντο
- 34 ὑπὸ Μεσσηνίων, προθύμως βοηθεῖν. ἔλεγον δὲ καὶ ὅς' ἀγαθὰ εἶη, ὅτε κοινῶς ἀμφότεροι ἔπραττον, ὑπομιμνήσκοντες μὲν ὥς τὸν βάρβαρον κοινῇ ἀπεμαχέσαντο, ἀναμιμνήσκοντες δὲ ὥς Ἀθηναῖοί τε ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἠρέθησαν ἡγεμόνες τοῦ ναυτικοῦ καὶ τῶν κοινῶν χρημάτων φύλακες, τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ταῦτα συμβουλομένων, αὐτοὶ τε κατὰ γῆν ὁμολογουμένως ὑφ' ἀπάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγεμόνες προκριθείησαν, συμβουλομένων
- 35 αὐτὰ ταῦτα τῶν Ἀθηναίων. εἰς δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ὧδέ πως εἶπεν· Ἐὰν δὲ ὑμεῖς καὶ ἡμεῖς, ὧ ἄνδρες, ὁμονήσωμεν, νῦν ἐλπίς τὸ πάλαι λεγόμενον δεκατευθῆναι Θηβαίους. οἱ μέντοι Ἀθηναῖοι οὐ πάνυ ἐδέξαντο, ἀλλὰ θροῦς τις τοιοῦτος διήλθεν

¹ The house of the Peisistratidae, in 511 B.C.

² In the so-called Third Messenian War, 464-455 B.C.

When the Athenians heard of all these things, they were in a state of concern as to what they should do in regard to the Lacedaemonians, and by resolution of the Senate they called a meeting of the Assembly. Now it chanced that there were present ambassadors of the Lacedaemonians and of the allies who still remained to them. Wherefore the Lacedaemonians spoke—Aracus, Ocyllus, Pharax, Etymocles, and Olontheus—almost all of them saying much the same things. They reminded the Athenians that from all time the two peoples had stood by one another in the most important crises for good ends; for they on their side, they said, had aided in expelling the tyrants¹ from Athens, while the Athenians, on the other hand, gave them zealous assistance at the time when they were hard pressed by the Messenians.² They also described all the blessings which were enjoyed at the time when both peoples were acting in union, recalling how they had together driven the barbarian back, recalling likewise how the Athenians had been chosen by the Greeks as leaders of the fleet and custodians of the common funds,³ the Lacedaemonians supporting this choice, while they had themselves been selected by the common consent of all the Greeks as leaders by land, the Athenians in their turn supporting this selection. And one of them even said something like this: "But if you and we, gentlemen, come to agreement, there is hope now that the Thebans will be decimated, as the old saying has it." The Athenians, however, were not very much inclined to accept all this, and a murmur went round to the effect that

³ Referring to the formation of the Confederacy of Delos, 477 B.C.

- ὥς νῦν ταῦτα λέγοιεν, ὅτε δὲ εὖ ἔπραττον, ἐπέ-
κειντο ἡμῖν. μέγιστον δὲ τῶν λεχθέντων παρὰ
Λακεδαιμονίων ἐδόκει εἶναι ὅτι ἡνίκα κατεπολέ-
μησαν αὐτούς, Θηβαίων βουλομένων ἀναστάτους
36 ποιῆσαι τὰς Ἀθήνας, σφεῖς ἐμποδῶν γένοιντο. ὁ
δὲ πλείστος ἦν λόγος ὥς κατὰ τοὺς ὅρκους βοη-
θεῖν δέοι· οὐ γὰρ ἀδικησάντων σφῶν ἐπιστρα-
τεύοιεν οἱ Ἀρκάδες καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτῶν τοῖς Λακε-
δαιμονίοις, ἀλλὰ βοηθησάντων τοῖς Τεγεάταις, ὅτι
οἱ Μαντινεῖς παρὰ τοὺς ὅρκους ἐπεστράτευσαν
αὐτοῖς. διέθει οὖν καὶ κατὰ τούτους τοὺς λόγους
θόρυβος ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ· οἱ μὲν γὰρ δικαίως τοὺς
Μαντινεάς ἔφασαν βοηθῆσαι τοῖς περὶ Πρόξενον
ἀποθανούσιν ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ Στάσιππον, οἱ δὲ
ἀδικεῖν, ὅτι ὅπλα ἐπήνεγκαν Τεγεάταις.
- 37 Τούτων δὲ διοριζομένων ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἐκκλη-
σίας, ἀνέστη Κλειτέλης Κορίνθιος καὶ εἶπε τάδε·
'Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἴσως ἀντι-
λέγεται, τίνες ἦσαν οἱ ἄρξαντες ἀδικεῖν· ἡμῶν
δέ, ἐπεὶ εἰρήνη ἐγένετο, ἔχει τις κατηγορῆσαι ἢ
ὥς ἐπὶ πόλιν τινὰ ἐστρατεύσαμεν ἢ ὥς χρήματά
τινων ἐλάβομεν ἢ ὥς γῆν ἀλλοτρίαν ἐδῆλώσαμεν;
ἀλλ' ὅμως οἱ Θηβαῖοι εἰς τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν
ἐλθόντες καὶ δένδρα ἐκκεκόφασι καὶ οἰκίας κατα-
κεκαύκασι καὶ χρήματα καὶ πρόβατα διηρπάκασι.
πῶς οὖν, ἐὰν μὴ βοηθῆτε οὕτω περιφανῶς ἡμῖν
ἀδικουμένοις, οὐ παρὰ τοὺς ὅρκους ποιήσετε; καὶ

"this is what they say now, but in the time when they were prosperous they were hostile to us." The weightiest of the arguments urged by the Lacedaemonians seemed to their hearers to be, that at the time when they subdued the Athenians, though the Thebans wanted to destroy Athens utterly, it was they who had prevented it. Most stress was laid, however, upon the consideration that the Athenians were required by their oaths to come to their assistance; for it was not because the Lacedaemonians had done wrong that the Arcadians and those with them were making an expedition against them, but rather because they had gone to the aid of the Tegeans for the reason that the Mantineans, in violation of their oaths, had taken the field against them. At these words an uproar again ran through the Assembly; for some said that the Mantineans had done right in avenging the followers of Proxenus who had been slain by the followers of Stasippus, while others said that they were in the wrong because they had taken up arms against the Tegeans.

While the Assembly itself was trying to determine these matters, Cleiteles, a Corinthian, arose and spoke as follows: "Men of Athens, it is perhaps a disputed point who began the wrong-doing; but as for us, can anyone accuse us of having, at any time since peace was concluded, either made a campaign against any city, or taken anyone's property, or laid waste another's land? Yet, nevertheless, the Thebans have come into our country, and have cut down trees, and burned down houses, and seized property and cattle. If, therefore, you do not aid us, who are so manifestly wronged, will you not surely be acting in violation of your oaths? They were the same oaths,

870 B.C.

ταῦτα ὧν αὐτοὶ ἐπεμελήθητε ὄρκων ὅπως πᾶσιν ὑμῖν πάντες ἡμεῖς ὁμόσαιμεν; ἐνταῦθα μέντοι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπεθορύβησαν ὡς ὀρθῶς τε καὶ δίκαια εἰρηκότος τοῦ Κλειτέλους.

- 38 Ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ ἀνέστη Προκλῆς Φλειάσιος καὶ εἶπεν· Ὅτι μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ ἐκποδῶν γένοιντο Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἐπὶ πρώτους ἂν ὑμᾶς στρατεύσαιεν οἱ Θηβαῖοι, πᾶσιν οἶμαι τοῦτο δῆλον εἶναι. τῶν γὰρ ἄλλων μόνους ἂν ὑμᾶς οἶονται ἐκποδῶν γενέσθαι τοῦ ἄρξαι αὐ-
- 39 τοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων. εἰ δ' οὕτως ἔχει, ἐγὼ μὲν οὐδὲν μᾶλλον Λακεδαιμονίοις ἂν ὑμᾶς ἡγοῦμαι στρατεύσαντας βοηθῆσαι ἢ καὶ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς. τὸ γὰρ δυσμενεῖς ὄντας ὑμῖν Θηβαίους καὶ ὁμόρους οἰκοῦντας ἡγεμόνας γενέσθαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων πολὺ οἶμαι χαλεπώτερον ἂν ὑμῖν φανῆναι ἢ ὁπότε πόρρω τοὺς ἀντιπάλους εἴχετε. συμφορώτερόν γε μεντὰν ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς βοηθήσαιτε ἐν ᾧ ἔτι εἰσὶν οἱ συμμαχοῖεν ἂν ἢ εἰ ἀπολομένων αὐτῶν μόνοι ἀναγκάζοισθε διαμάχεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους.

- 40 Εἰ δέ τινες φοβοῦνται μὴ ἐὰν νῦν ἀναφύγωσιν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἔτι ποτὲ πράγματα παρέχωσιν ὑμῖν, ἐνθυμήθητε ὅτι οὐχ οὖς ἂν εὖ ἀλλ' οὖς ἂν κακῶς τις ποιῇ φοβεῖσθαι δεῖ μὴ ποτε μέγα δυνασθῶσιν. ἐνθυμείσθαι δὲ καὶ τάδε χρή, ὅτι κτᾶσθαι μὲν τι ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἰδιόταις καὶ πόλεσι προσήκει, ὅταν ἐρρωμενέστατοι ᾖσιν, ἵνα ἔχωσιν, ἐὰν ποτ' ἀδύνατοι γένωνται, ἐπικουρίαν

you remember, that you yourselves took care to have all of us swear to all of you." Thereupon the Athenians shouted their approval, saying that Cleiteles had spoken to the point and fairly. 370 B.C.

Then Procles, a Phliasian, arose after Cleiteles and said: "Men of Athens, it is clear to everyone, I imagine, that you are the first against whom the Thebans would march if the Lacedaemonians were got out of the way; for they think that you are the only people in Greece who would stand in the way of their becoming rulers of the Greeks. If this is so, I, for my part, believe that if you undertake a campaign, you would not be giving aid to the Lacedaemonians so much as to your own selves. For to have the Thebans, who are unfriendly to you and dwell on your borders, become leaders of the Greeks, would prove much more grievous to you, I think, than when you had your antagonists far away. Furthermore, you would aid yourselves with more profit if you should do so while there are still people who would fight on your side, than if they should perish first and you should then be compelled to enter by yourselves upon a decisive struggle with the Thebans.

"Now if any are fearful that in case the Lacedaemonians escape this time, they may again in the future cause you trouble, take thought of this, that it is not those whom one benefits, but those whom one injures, of whom one has to fear that they may some day attain great power. And you should bear in mind this likewise, that it is meet both for individuals and for states to acquire a goodly store in the days when they are strongest, in order that, if some day they become powerless, they may draw

- 41 τῶν προπεπονημένων. ὑμῖν δὲ νῦν ἐκ θεῶν τινος καιρὸς παραγεγένηται, ἐὰν δεομένοις βοηθήσῃτε Λακεδαιμονίοις, κτήσασθαι τούτους εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον φίλους ἀπροφασίστους. καὶ γὰρ δὴ οὐκ ἐπ' ὀλίγων μοι δοκοῦσι μαρτύρων νῦν ἂν εὖ παθεῖν ὑφ' ὑμῶν· ἀλλ' εἴσονται μὲν ταῦτα θεοὶ οἱ πάντα ὀρώντες καὶ νῦν καὶ εἰς αἰεὶ, συνεπίστανται δὲ τὰ γιγνόμενα οἳ τε σύμμαχοι καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ ἅπαντες Ἕλληνές τε καὶ βάρ-
- 42 βαροι. οὐδενὶ γὰρ τούτων ἀμελές. ὥστε εἰ κακοὶ φανείησαν περὶ ὑμᾶς, τίς ἂν ποτε ἔτι πρόθυμος εἰς αὐτοὺς γένοιτο; ἐλπίζειν δὲ χρή ὥς ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς μᾶλλον ἢ κακοὺς αὐτοὺς γενήσεσθαι· εἰ γάρ τινες ἄλλοι, καὶ οὗτοι δοκοῦσι διατετελεκένοι ἐπαίνου μὲν ὀρεγόμενοι, αἰσχυρῶν δὲ ἔργων ἀπεχόμενοι.
- 43 πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἐνθυμήθητε καὶ τάδε. εἴ ποτε πάλιν ἔλθοι τῇ Ἑλλάδι κίνδυνος ὑπὸ βαρβάρων, τίσιν ἂν μᾶλλον πιστεύσαιτε ἢ Λακεδαιμονίοις; τίνας δὲ ἂν παραστάτας ἡδίων τούτων ποιήσασθε, ὧν γε καὶ οἱ ταχθέντες ἐν Θερμοπύλαις ἅπαντες εἴλοντο μαχόμενοι ἀποθανεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ ζῶντες ἐπεισφρέσθαι τὸν βάρβαρον τῇ Ἑλλάδι; πῶς οὖν οὐ δίκαιον ὧν τε ἔνεκα ἐγένοντο ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ μεθ' ὑμῶν καὶ ὧν ἐλπίς καὶ αὐθις γενέσθαι πᾶσαν προθυμίαν εἰς αὐτοὺς καὶ ὑμᾶς καὶ ἡμᾶς παρέχεσθαι;
- 44 Ἄξιον δὲ καὶ τῶν παρόντων συμμάχων αὐτοῖς¹ ἔνεκα προθυμίαν ἐνδείξασθαι. εὖ γὰρ

¹ αὐτοῖς MSS.: Kel. brackets.

upon their previous labours for succour. So to you 870 A.D.
 has now been offered by some god an opportunity, in
 case you aid the Lacedaemonians in their need, of
 acquiring them for all time as friends who will plead
 no excuses. For it is not in the presence of only a
 few witnesses, as it seems to me, that they would
 now receive benefit at your hands, but the gods will
 know of this, who see all things both now and for
 ever, and both your allies and your enemies know
 also what is taking place, and the whole world of
 Greeks and barbarians besides. For to none of
 them all is it a matter of indifference. Therefore,
 if the Lacedaemonians should show themselves base
 in their dealings with you, who would ever again
 become devoted to them? But it is fair to expect
 that they will prove good rather than base men, for
 if any people in the world seem consistently to have
 striven for commendation and to have abstained from
 deeds of shame, it is truly they. Besides all this,
 take thought of the following considerations like-
 wise. If ever again danger should come to Greece
 from barbarians, whom would you trust more than
 the Lacedaemonians? Whom would you more gladly
 make your comrades in the ranks than these, whose
 countrymen, posted at Thermopylae, chose every
 man to die fighting rather than to live and admit
 the barbarian to Greece? Therefore, both because
 they proved themselves brave men along with you,
 and because there is hope that they will so prove
 themselves again, is it not surely right that you and
 we alike should show all good-will toward them?

“It is also worth while to show the Lacedaemonians
 good-will for the sake of the allies who are present
 with them. For be well assured that those who

ἴστε ὅτι οἵπερ τούτοις πιστοὶ διαμένουσιν ἐν ταῖς συμφοραῖς, οὗτοι καὶ ὑμῖν αἰσχύνοιντ' ἂν μὴ ἀποδιδόντες χάριτας. εἰ δὲ μικραὶ δοκοῦμεν πόλεις εἶναι αἱ τοῦ κινδύνου μετέχειν αὐτοῖς ἐθέλουσαι, ἐνθυμήθητε ὅτι ἐὰν ἡ ὑμετέρα πόλις προσγένηται, οὐκέτι μικραὶ πόλεις ἐσόμεθα αἱ
 45 βοηθοῦσαι αὐτοῖς. ἐγὼ δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πρόσθεν μὲν ἀκούων ἐξήλουν τήνδε τὴν πόλιν ὅτι πάντας καὶ τοὺς ἀδικουμένους καὶ τοὺς φοβουμένους ἐνθάδε καταφεύγοντας ἐπικουρίας ἤκουον τυγχάνειν· νῦν δ' οὐκέτ' ἀκούω, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἤδη παρὼν ὁρῶ Λακεδαιμονίους τε τοὺς ὀνομαστοτάτους καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν τοὺς πιστοτάτους φίλους αὐτῶν πρὸς ὑμᾶς τε ἤκοντας καὶ δεομένους
 46 αὐτῶν ἐπικουρῆσαι. ὁρῶ δὲ καὶ Θηβαίους, οἳ τότε οὐκ ἔπεισαν Λακεδαιμονίους ἐξανδραποδίσσασθαι ὑμᾶς, νῦν δεομένους ὑμῶν περιδεῖν ἀπολομένους τοὺς σώσαντας ὑμᾶς.

Τῶν μὲν οὖν ὑμετέρων προγόνων καλὸν λέγεται, ὅτε τοὺς Ἀργείων τελευτήσαντας ἐπὶ τῇ Καδμεΐᾳ οὐκ εἴασαν ἀτάφους γενέσθαι· ὑμῖν δὲ πολὺ κάλλιον ἂν γένοιτο, εἰ τοὺς ἔτι ζῶντας Λακεδαιμονίων μήτε ὑβρισθῆναι μήτε ἀπολέσθαι
 47 εὔσαιτε. καλοῦ γε μὴν καὶ ἐκείνου ὄντος, ὅτε σχόντες τὴν Εὐρυσθέως ὕβριν διεσώσατε τοὺς Ἡρακλέους παῖδας, πῶς οὐ καὶ ἐκείνου τόδε κάλλιον, εἰ μὴ μόνον τοὺς ἀρχηγέτας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅλην τὴν πόλιν περισώσατε; πάντων δὲ κάλ-

¹ See § 35 above, and cp. note on iii. 13.

remain faithful to them in their misfortunes are 870 B.C.
 the very men who would be ashamed if they did not make due requital to you. And if we who are willing to share the peril with them seem to be small states, reflect that if your state is added to our number, we who aid them shall no longer be small states. In former days, men of Athens, I used from hearsay to admire this state of yours, for I heard that all who were wronged and all who were fearful fled hither for refuge, and here found assistance; now I no longer hear, but with my own eyes at this moment see the Lacedaemonians, those most famous men, and their most loyal friends appearing in your state and in their turn requesting you to assist them. I see also the Thebans, who then¹ did not succeed in persuading the Lacedaemonians to enslave you, now requesting you to allow those who saved you to perish.

"It is truly a noble deed that is told of your ancestors, when they did not suffer those Argives who died at the Cadmea to go unburied;² but you would achieve a far nobler deed if you did not suffer those Lacedaemonians who still live either to incur insult or to perish. And while that other deed was also noble, when you checked the insolence of Eurystheus and preserved the sons of Heracles,³ would it not surely be an even nobler one if you saved from perishing, not merely the founders, but the whole state as well? And noblest of all deeds

² After the defeat of the legendary expedition of the "Seven against Thebes" it was only the intervention of the Athenians which compelled the Thebans to permit the burial of the enemy's dead.

³ The sons of Heracles, driven from Peloponnesus by Eurystheus, found protection and aid at Athens.

λιστον, εἰ ψήφῳ ἀκινδύνῳ σωσάντων ὑμᾶς τότε
 τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, νῦν ὑμεῖς σὺν ὅπλοις τε καὶ
 48 διὰ κινδύνων ἐπικουρήσετε αὐτοῖς. ὁπότε δὲ
 καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀγαλλόμεθα οἱ¹ συναγορεύοντες βοη-
 θῆσαι ἀνδράσιν ἀγαθοῖς, ἣ που ὑμῖν γε τοῖς
 ἔργῳ δυναμένοις βοηθῆσαι γενναῖα ἂν ταῦτα
 φανείη, εἰ πολλάκις καὶ φίλοι καὶ πολέμιοι
 γενόμενοι Λακεδαιμονίοις μὴ ὧν ἐβλάβητε μᾶλλον
 ἢ ὧν εὖ ἐπάθετε μνησθείητε καὶ χάριν ἀποδοίητε
 αὐτοῖς μὴ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 ὑπὲρ πάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ὅτι ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ ὑπὲρ
 αὐτῆς ἐγένοντο.

49 Μετὰ ταῦτα ἐβουλευόντο οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ τῶν
 μὲν ἀντιλεγόντων οὐκ ἠνείχοντο ἀκούοντες, ἐψη-
 φίσαντο δὲ βοηθεῖν πανδημεί, καὶ Ἴφικράτην
 στρατηγὸν εἴλοντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐγένετο καὶ
 παρήγγειλεν ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ δειπνοποιεῖσθαι, πολ-
 λούς ἔφασαν προτέρους αὐτοῦ Ἴφικράτους ἐξελ-
 θεῖν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἠγεῖτο μὲν ὁ Ἴφικράτης, οἱ δ'
 ἠκολούθουν, νομίζοντες ἐπὶ καλόν τι ἔργον ἠγή-
 σεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφικόμενος εἰς Κόρινθον διέτριβέ
 τινας ἡμέρας, εὐθύς μὲν ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ διατριβῇ
 πρῶτον ἔψεγον αὐτόν· ὥς δ' ἐξήγαγέ ποτε, προ-
 θύμως μὲν ἠκολούθουν ὅποι ἠγοῖτο, προθύμως δ',
 50 εἰ πρὸς τείχος προσάγοι, προσέβαλλον. τῶν δ'
 ἐν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι πολεμίων Ἀρκάδες μὲν καὶ
 Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Ἡλεῖοι πολλοὶ ἀπεληλύθεσαν, ἅτε
 ὄμοροι οἰκοῦντες, οἱ μὲν ἄγοντες, οἱ δὲ φέροντες

¹ οἱ MSS.: Kel. brackets.

if, after the Lacedaemonians saved you then by a 870 a.d.
 vote, void of danger, you shall aid them now with
 arms and at the risk of your lives. Again, when
 even we, who by word urge you to aid brave men,
 are proud of doing so, it would manifestly be
 generous of you, who are able to aid by act, if, after
 being many times both friends and enemies of the
 Lacedaemonians, you should recall, not the harm you
 have suffered at their hands, but rather the favours
 which you have received, and should render them
 requital, not in behalf of yourselves alone, but also
 in behalf of all Greece, because in her behalf they
 proved themselves brave men."

After this the Athenians deliberated, and they
 would not endure to listen to those who spoke on
 the other side, but voted to go to the aid of the
 Lacedaemonians in full force, and chose Iphicrates
 as general. And when his sacrifices had proved
 favourable and he had issued orders to his men to
 dine in the Academy,¹ many, it is said, went thither
 ahead of Iphicrates himself. After this Iphicrates
 led the way and they followed, believing that he
 would lead them to some noble achievement. And
 when, after arriving in Corinth, he delayed there for
 some days, they at once began to censure him, for
 the first time, for this delay; then when he at length
 marched them forth, they eagerly followed wherever
 he led the way, and eagerly attacked any stronghold
 against which he brought them. As for the enemy in
 Lacedaemon, many Arcadians, Argives, and Eleans
 had already departed, inasmuch as they lived just
 across the border, some of them leading and others

¹ *cp.* II. ii. 8.

ὃ τι ἡρπάκεσαν. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τὰ μὲν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀπιέναι ἐβούλοντο ἐκ τῆς χώρας, ὅτι ἐώρων ἐλάττονα τὴν στρατιὰν καθ' ἡμέραν γιγνομένην, τὰ δέ, ὅτι σπανιώτερα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἦν· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἀνήλωτο, τὰ δὲ διήρπαστο, τὰ δὲ ἐξεκέχυτο, τὰ δὲ κατεκέκαυτο· πρὸς δ' ἔτι καὶ χειμῶν ἦν, ὥστ' ἤδη πάντες ἀπιέναι
 51 ἐβούλοντο. ὥς δ' ἐκείνοι ἀπεχώρουν ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαιμόνος, οὕτω δὴ καὶ ὁ Ἴφικράτης τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀπῆγεν ἐκ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας εἰς Κόρινθον. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλο τι καλῶς ἐστρατήγησεν, οὐ ψέγω. ἐκεῖνα μέντοι ἃ ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ ἐκείνῳ ἔπραξε, πάντα εὐρίσκω τὰ μὲν μάτην, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἀσυμφόρως πεπραγμένα αὐτῷ. ἐπιχειρήσας μὲν γὰρ φυλάττειν ἐπὶ τῷ Ὀνειῳ, ὅπως μὴ δύναιντο οἱ Βοιωτοὶ ἀπελθεῖν οἴκαδε, παρέλιπεν ἀφύλακτον τὴν καλλίστην παρὰ Κεγχρειᾶς πάροδον.
 52 μαθεῖν δὲ βουλόμενος εἰ παρεληλυθότες εἶεν οἱ Θηβαῖοι τὸ Ὀνειον ἔπεμψε σκοποὺς τοὺς τε Ἀθηναίων ἱππέας καὶ τοὺς Κορινθίων ἅπαντας. καίτοι ἰδεῖν μὲν οὐδὲν ἦττον ὀλίγοι τῶν πολλῶν ἱκανοί· εἰ δὲ δύοι ἀποχωρεῖν, πολὺ ῥᾶον τοῖς ὀλίγοις ἢ τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ ὁδοῦ εὐπόρου τυχεῖν καὶ καθ' ἡσυχίαν ἀποχωρῆσαι. τὸ δὲ πολλούς τε προσάγειν καὶ ἡττονας τῶν ἐναντίων πῶς οὐ πολλὴ ἀφροσύνη; καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἅτε ἐπὶ πολὺ παραταξάμενοι χωρίον οἱ ἱππεῖς διὰ τὸ πολλοὶ εἶναι, ἐπεὶ ἔδει ἀποχωρεῖν, πολλῶν καὶ χαλεπῶν χωρίων ἐπελάβοντο· ὥστε οὐκ ἐλάττους ἀπώλουντο εἴκοσιν ἱππέων. καὶ τότε μὲν οἱ Θηβαῖοι ὅπως ἐβούλοντο ἀπῆλθον.

carrying what they had taken as plunder. On the other hand, the Thebans and the rest were desirous of departing from the country, partly for the very reason that they saw their army growing daily smaller, and partly because provisions were scantier, the supply having been in part used up or stolen away, in part wasted or burned up; besides, it was winter, so that by this time all alike wanted to withdraw. When, accordingly, they proceeded to retire from Lacedaemon, then, of course, Iphicrates likewise proceeded to lead back the Athenians from Arcadia to Corinth. Now I have no fault to find with any good generalship he may have shown on any other occasion; but as regards all his actions at that time, I find them to have been either futile or inexpedient. For while he undertook to keep guard at Oneum so that the Thebans should not be able to get back home, he left unguarded the best pass, which led past Cenchreae. And when he wanted to find out whether the Thebans had passed Oneum, he sent as scouts all the horsemen both of the Athenians and of the Corinthians. And yet a few men would have been quite as efficient for seeing as the many; while if it were necessary to retire, it would be much easier for the few than for the many both to find an easy route and to retire at their leisure. But to employ a force that was numerous and still inferior to the enemy—was this not surely the height of folly? For inasmuch as the horsemen extended their line over a large space because they were a large force, when it was necessary to retire they encountered a large number of difficult places, so that no fewer than twenty horsemen lost their lives. At that time, then, the Thebans returned home as they pleased.

370 B.C.

BOOK VII

Z

I. Τῷ δ' ὑστέρω ἔτει Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων πρέσβεις ἦλθον αὐτοκράτορες Ἀθηναζε, βουλευσόμενοι καθ' ὃ τι ἡ συμμαχία Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ Ἀθηναίοις ἔσοιτο. λεγόντων δὲ πολλῶν μὲν ξένων, πολλῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων, ὡς δέοι ἐπὶ τοῖς ἴσοις καὶ ὁμοίοις τὴν συμμαχίαν εἶναι, Προκλῆς Φλειάσιος εἶπε τόνδε τὸν λόγον.

- 2 Ἐπεὶ περ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀγαθὸν ὑμῖν ἔδοξεν εἶναι Λακεδαιμονίους φίλους ποιεῖσθαι, δοκεῖ μοι χρῆναι τοῦτο σκοπεῖν, ὅπως ἡ φιλία ὅτι πλείστον χρόνον συμμενεῖ. ἐὰν οὖν ἡ ἑκατέροις μάλιστα συνοίσει, ταύτῃ καὶ τὰς συνθήκας ποιησώμεθα, οὕτω κατὰ γε τὸ εἰκὸς μάλιστα συμμενοῖεν ἄν. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα σχεδὸν τι συνωμολόγηται, περὶ δὲ τῆς ἡγεμονίας νῦν ἡ σκέψις. τῇ μὲν οὖν βουλῇ προβεβούλεται ὑμετέραν μὲν εἶναι τὴν κατὰ θάλατταν, Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ τὴν κατὰ γῆν. ἐμοὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτῷ δοκεῖ ταῦτα οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνῃ μᾶλλον γνώμῃ¹ ἢ θεῖα φύσει τε καὶ
- 3 τύχῃ διωρίσθαι. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ τόπον ἔχετε κάλλιστα πεφυκότα πρὸς τοῦτο. πλείσται γὰρ πόλεις τῶν δεομένων τῆς θαλάττης περὶ τὴν ὑμε-

¹ Inserted by Kel., following Pluygers.

BOOK VII

I. IN the following year ambassadors of the Lacedaemonians and their allies, with full powers, came to Athens to take counsel as to what should be the terms of the alliance between the Lacedaemonians and the Athenians. And while many foreigners and many Athenians said that the alliance ought to be on terms of full equality, Procles the Phliasian made the following speech :

“Men of Athens, since you have decided that it is a good thing to make the Lacedaemonians your friends, it seems to me that you ought to consider this point, how the friendship is to endure for the longest possible time. Now it is only by making the compact on such terms as will be most advantageous to each party that we can expect it to be, in all probability, most enduring. The other points, then, have been pretty well agreed upon, but the question of the leadership is at present under discussion. Now it has been proposed by your Senate that the leadership by sea shall belong to you, and the leadership by land to the Lacedaemonians. And I, too, think that this distinction is based, not so much upon human judgment as upon divine arrangement and ordering. In the first place, you have a position most excellently adapted by nature for supremacy by sea. For most of the states which are dependent upon the sea are situated

τέραν πόλιν οἰκοῦσι, καὶ αὐται πᾶσαι ἀσθενέ-
 στεραι τῆς ὑμετέρας. πρὸς τούτοις δὲ λιμένας
 ἔχετε, ὧν ἄνευ οὐχ οἷόν τε ναυτικῇ δυνάμει χρῆ-
 σθαι. ἔτι δὲ τριήρεις κέκτησθε πολλάς, καὶ πά-
 4 τριον ὑμῖν ἐστὶ ναυτικὸν ἐπικτᾶσθαι. ἀλλὰ μὴν
 τάς γε τέχνας τὰς περὶ ταῦτα πάσας οἰκείας
 ἔχετε. καὶ μὴν ἐμπειρία γε πολὺ προέχετε τῶν
 ἄλλων περὶ τὰ ναυτικά· ὁ γὰρ βίος τοῖς πλείστοις
 ὑμῶν ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης· ὥστε τῶν ἰδίων ἐπιμε-
 λόμενοι ἅμα καὶ τῶν κατὰ θάλατταν ἀγῶνων
 ἐμπειροὶ γίγνεσθε. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τόδε. οὐδαμῶθεν
 ἂν τριήρεις πλείους ἀθρόαι ἐκπλεύσειαν ἢ παρ'
 ὑμῶν. ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐλάχιστον πρὸς ἡγε-
 μονίαν· πρὸς γὰρ τὸ πρῶτον ἰσχυρὸν γενόμενον
 5 ἥδιστα πάντες συλλέγονται. ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν
 θεῶν δέδοται ὑμῖν εὐτυχεῖν ἐν τούτῳ. πλείστους
 γὰρ καὶ μεγίστους ἀγῶνας ἡγωνισμένοι κατὰ
 θάλατταν ἐλάχιστα μὲν ἀποτετυχήκατε, πλείστα
 δὲ κατωρθώκατε. εἰκὸς οὖν καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους
 μεθ' ὑμῶν ἂν ἥδιστα τούτου τοῦ κινδύνου μετέ-
 6 χεῖν. ὥς δὲ δὴ καὶ ἀναγκαῖα καὶ προσήκουσα
 ὑμῖν αὕτη ἡ ἐπιμέλεια ἐκ τῶνδε ἐνθυμήητε·
 Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὑμῖν ἐπολέμουν ποτὲ πολλὰ ἔτη,
 καὶ κρατοῦντες τῆς χώρας οὐδὲν προύκοπτον εἰς
 τὸ ἀπολέσαι ὑμᾶς. ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ θεὸς ἔδωκέ ποτε
 αὐτοῖς κατὰ θάλατταν ἐπικρατῆσαι, εὐθὺς ὑπ'

round about your state, and they are all weaker than 369 a.c.
yours. In addition to this, you have harbours, without which it is not possible to enjoy naval power. Furthermore, you already possess many triremes, and it is a traditional policy of yours to keep adding ships. You likewise possess as peculiarly your own all the arts and crafts which have to do with ships. Again, you are far superior to other men in experience of nautical affairs, for most of you get your livelihood from the sea; hence, while attending to your private concerns, you are also at the same time gaining experience for encounters by sea. Here is another point also: there is no port from which more triremes can sail forth at one time than from your city. And this is a matter of no slight importance with reference to leadership, for all men love best to join forces with the power which is first to show itself strong. Furthermore, it has also been granted you by the gods to be successful in this pursuit. For while you have engaged in very many and very great combats by sea, you have met with an exceedingly small number of misfortunes and have achieved an exceedingly large number of successes. Therefore it is likely that the allies would like best to share in such perils if they were under your leadership. And that this devotion to the sea is indeed both necessary and proper for you, you must conclude from the following fact: the Lacedaemonians once made war upon you for many years,¹ and though masters of your land could make no progress toward destroying you. But when at length the deity granted them to win the mastery by sea,

¹ The reference is to the Peloponnesian War, which was terminated by the capture of the Athenian fleet by the Lacedaemonians at Aegospotami (*Hell.* II. i. 20-32).

- ἐκείνοις παντελῶς ἐγένεσθε. οὐκοῦν εὐδηλον ἐν
τούτοις ἐστὶν ὅτι ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης ἅπανα ὑμῖν
7 ἤρτηται σωτηρία. οὕτως οὖν πεφυκότων πῶς ἂν
ἔχοι καλῶς ὑμῖν Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπιτρέψαι κατὰ
θάλατταν ἡγεῖσθαι, οἱ πρῶτον μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ
ὁμολογοῦσιν ἀπειρότεροι ὑμῶν τούτου τοῦ ἔργου
εἶναι, ἔπειτα δ' οὐ περὶ τῶν ἴσων ὁ κίνδυνός ἐστιν
ἐν τοῖς κατὰ θάλατταν ἀγῶσιν, ἀλλ' ἐκείνοις μὲν
περὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς τριήρεσι μόνον ἀνθρώπων, ὑμῖν
δὲ καὶ περὶ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ ὅλης τῆς
πόλεως;
- 8 Τὰ μὲν δὴ ὑμέτερα οὕτως ἔχει· τὰ δὲ δὴ
τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπισκέψασθε. πρῶτον μὲν
γὰρ οἰκοῦσιν ἐν μεσογαίᾳ· ὥστε τῆς γῆς κρα-
τοῦντες καὶ εἰ θαλάττης εἵργοιντο, δύναιντ' ἂν
καλῶς διαζῇν. ἐγνωκότες οὖν καὶ οὗτοι ταῦτα
εὐθύς ἐκ παίδων πρὸς τὸν κατὰ γῆν πόλεμον τὴν
ἄσκησιν ποιοῦνται. καὶ τὸ πλείστου δὲ ἄξιον, τὸ
πείθεσθαι τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, οὗτοι μὲν κράτιστοι
- 9 κατὰ γῆν, ὑμεῖς δὲ κατὰ θάλατταν. ἔπειτα δὲ
ὥσπερ ὑμεῖς ναυτικῶ, οὕτως αὖ ἐκείνοι κατὰ γῆν
πλείστοι καὶ τάχιστ' ἂν ἐξέλθοιεν· ὥστε πρὸς
τούτους αὖ κατὰ γῆν¹ εἰκὸς τοὺς συμμάχους
εὐθαρσεστάτους προσιέναι. ἔτι δὲ καὶ ὁ θεὸς
δέδωκεν, ὥσπερ ὑμῖν κατὰ θάλατταν εὐτυχεῖν,
οὕτως ἐκείνοις κατὰ γῆν· πλείστους γὰρ αὖ οὗτοι
ἀγῶνας ἐν τῇ γῇ ἡγωνισμένοι ἐλάχιστα μὲν
- 10 ἐσφαλμένοι εἰσὶ, πλείστα δὲ κατωρθωκότες. ὥς
δὲ καὶ ἀναγκαία οὐδὲν ἦττον τούτοις ἢ κατὰ γῆν
ἐπιμέλεια ἢ ὑμῖν ἢ κατὰ θάλατταν ἐκ τῶν ἔργων

¹ κατὰ γῆν inserted by Kel., following Hartman.

straightway you fell completely under their power. 369 B.C.
 In these circumstances, therefore, it is plain to be seen that all your safety depends upon the sea. Such, then, being the situation ordained by nature, how could you be content to allow the Lacedaemonians to be leaders by sea, when, in the first place, they themselves admit that they are less experienced than you are in this work, and when, in the second place, they do not risk as much as you do in contests by sea, but merely the people on board the triremes, whereas you risk wives and children and the entire state.

“ This is the situation on your side ; consider now that of the Lacedaemonians. Firstly, they dwell in the interior ; hence, so long as they are masters of the land, they can lead a comfortable existence even if they are shut off from the sea. Therefore, realizing this fact themselves, they carry on their training from their very boyhood with a view to war by land. Furthermore, in that which is of the greatest importance, obedience to their commanders, they are best by land, as you are by sea. Again, they on their side can set forth by land, as you can with a fleet, in greatest numbers and with greatest speed ; therefore it is to them in turn that the armies of the allies would be likely to attach themselves with greatest confidence. Besides, the deity has granted, as to you success by sea, so to them success by land ; for while they on their side have engaged in very many combats on the land, they have incurred an exceedingly small number of defeats, and have won an exceedingly large number of victories. And that this devotion to the land is no less necessary for them than devotion to the sea for you, one may

- ἔξεστι γιγνώσκειν. ὑμεῖς γὰρ τούτοις πολλὰ ἔτη πολεμοῦντες καὶ πολλάκις καταναυμαχοῦντες οὐδὲν προὔργου ἐποιεῖτε πρὸς τὸ τούτους καταπολεμῆσαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἅπαξ ἡττήθησαν ἐν τῇ γῇ, εὐθὺς καὶ περὶ παίδων καὶ περὶ γυναικῶν καὶ περὶ ὅλης
- 11 τῆς πόλεως κίνδυνος αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο. πῶς οὖν οὐ τούτοις αὖ δεινὸν ἄλλοις μὲν ἐπιτρέπειν κατὰ γῆν ἡγεῖσθαι, αὐτοὺς δὲ ἄριστα τῶν κατὰ γῆν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι; ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, ὥσπερ τῇ βουλῇ προβευόλευτα, ταῦτα εἰρηκά τε καὶ συμφορώτατα ἡγοῦμαι ἀμφοῖν εἶναι. ὑμεῖς δὲ εὐτυχοῖτε τὰ κράτιστα πᾶσιν ἡμῖν βουλευσάμενοι.
- 12 Ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' εἶπεν, οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοί τε καὶ οἱ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων παρόντες ἐπήνεσαν ἀμφοτέροι ἰσχυρῶς τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ. Κηφισόδοτος δὲ παρελθὼν· Ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἔφη, οὐκ αἰσθάνεσθε ἑξαπατῶμενοι· ἀλλ' ἐὰν ἀκούσητέ μου, ἐγὼ ὑμῖν αὐτίκα μάλα ἐπιδείξω. ἤδη γὰρ ἡγήσεσθε κατὰ θάλατταν. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ὑμῖν ἐὰν συμμαχώσι, δῆλον ὅτι πέμψουσι τοὺς μὲν τριηράρχους Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ ἴσως τοὺς ἐπιβάτας, οἱ δὲ ναῦται δῆλον ὅτι ¹ ἔσονται ἢ Εἰλωτες ἢ μισθοφόροι.
- 13 οὐκοῦν ὑμεῖς μὲν τούτων ἡγήσεσθε. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὅταν παραγγείλωσιν ὑμῖν κατὰ γῆν στρατείαν, δῆλον ὅτι πέμψετε τοὺς ὀπλίτας καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας. οὐκοῦν οὕτως ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ὑμῶν αὐτῶν γίγνονται ἡγεμόνες, ὑμεῖς δὲ τῶν ἐκείνων

¹ δῆλον ὅτι MSS. : Kel. brackets, following Nauck.

judge from the results. For you made war upon them for many years,¹ and though you defeated them many times by sea, could make no progress toward subduing them. But so soon as they incurred one defeat on the land,² immediately their wives and children and their entire state were at stake. Hence for them, on their side, it would surely be a dreadful thing to allow others to be leaders by land, when they themselves are best at the administration of affairs by land. As for myself, therefore, the course which has been proposed by your Senate is that which I have urged, and which I believe to be most advantageous to both parties; and may you, for your part, be fortunate in reaching the conclusion that is best for us all."

Thus he spoke, and both the Athenians and those Lacedaemonians who were present applauded his speech vigorously. But Cephisodotus came forward and said: "Men of Athens, you do not observe that you are being deceived; but if you will listen to me, I will prove it to you very speedily. As the matter now stands, you are to be leaders by sea. And if the Lacedaemonians are your allies, it is clear that the captains, and perhaps the marines whom they send out, will be Lacedaemonians, but it is also clear that the sailors will be either Helots or mercenaries. You, therefore, will be leaders of these people. When, however, the Lacedaemonians give you the order for a campaign by land, it is clear that you will send your hoplites and your horsemen. By this plan, therefore, they become leaders of your own selves, while you become leaders merely of their slaves and

¹ The speaker is referring again to the Peloponnesian War.

² At Leuctra (VI. iv. 1-15).

- δούλων καὶ ἐλαχίστου ἀξίων. ἀπόκριναι δέ μοι, ἔφη, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιε Τιμόκρατες, οὐκ ἄρτι ἔλεγες ὥς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἴσοις καὶ ὁμοίοις ἥκοις τὴν συμμα-
- 14 χίαν ποιούμενος; Εἶπον ταῦτα. Ἔστιν οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Κηφισόδοτος, ἰσαίτερον ἢ ἐν μέρει μὲν ἑκατέρους ἡγεῖσθαι τοῦ ναυτικοῦ, ἐν μέρει δὲ τοῦ πεζοῦ, καὶ ὑμᾶς τε, εἴ τι ἀγαθόν ἐστιν ἐν τῇ κατὰ θάλατταν ἀρχῇ, τούτων μετέχειν, καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐν τῇ κατὰ γῆν; ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι μετεπείσθησαν, καὶ ἐψηφίσαντο κατὰ πενθήμερον ἑκατέρους ἡγεῖσθαι.
- 15 Στρατευομένων δ' ἀμφοτέρων αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν συμμάχων εἰς Κόρινθον ἔδοξε κοινῇ φυλάττειν τὸ Ὀνειον. καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐπορεύοντο οἱ Θηβαῖοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι, παραταξάμενοι ἐφύλαττον ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν τοῦ Ὀνείου, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ καὶ Πελληνεῖς κατὰ τὸ ἐπιμαχώτατον. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι ἐπεὶ ἀπεῖχον τῶν φυλαττόντων τριάκοντα στάδια, κατεστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ. συντεκμηράμενοι δὲ ἡνίκ' ἂν ᾤοντο ὀρμηθέντες καθανύσαι ἅμα κνέφα, πρὸς τὴν τῶν Λακε-
- 16 δαιμονίων φυλακὴν ἐπορεύοντο. καὶ μέντοι οὐκ ἐψεύσθησαν τῆς ὥρας, ἀλλ' ἐπιπίπτουσι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τοῖς Πελληνεῦσιν ἡνίκα αἱ μὲν νυκτεριναὶ φυλακαὶ ἤδη ἔληγον, ἐκ δὲ τῶν στιβάδων ἀνίσταντο ἔποι ἐδεῖτο ἕκαστος. ἐνταῦθα οἱ Θηβαῖοι προσπεσόντες ἔπαιον παρεσκευασμένοι ἀπαρασκευάστους καὶ συντεταγμένοι

their men of least account. Answer me," he said, 369 a.c.
 "Timocrates of Lacedaemon, did you not say a moment ago that you had come with intent to make the alliance on terms of full equality?" "I did say that." "Then," said Cephisodotus, "is there anything more equal than that each party in turn should be leader of the fleet, and each in turn leader of the army, and that you, if there is any advantage in the leadership by sea, should share therein, and we likewise in the matter of leadership by land?" Upon hearing this the Athenians were led to change their minds, and they voted that each party should hold the leadership in turn for periods of five days.

Now when both peoples and their allies had proceeded to Corinth, it was determined that they should together guard Oneum. Accordingly, while the Thebans and their allies were on the march, they formed their lines and proceeded to keep guard at one point and another of Oneum, but the Lacedaemonians and the Pelleneans at the most assailable point. And the Thebans and their allies, when they were distant thirty stadia from the troops on guard, encamped in the plain. Then, after calculating the time at which they thought they should start in order to finish their journey at dawn, they marched upon the garrison of the Lacedaemonians. And in fact they did not prove mistaken in the hour, but fell upon the Lacedaemonians and the Pelleneans at the time when the night watches were just coming to an end, and the men were rising from their camp-beds and going wherever each one had to go. Thereupon the Thebans made their attack and laid on their blows—men prepared attacking those unprepared, and men in good order against those in disorder.

- 17 ἀσυντάκτους. ὥς δὲ οἱ σωθέντες ἐκ τοῦ πράγματος ἀπέφυγον ἐπὶ τὸν ἐγγύτατα λόφον, ἐξὸν τῷ Λακεδαιμονίῳ πολεμάρχῳ λαβόντι ὁπόσους μὲν ἐβούλετο τῶν συμμάχων ὀπλίτας, ὁπόσους δὲ πελταστάς, κατέχειν τὸ χωρίον, καὶ γὰρ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐξῆν ἀσφαλῶς ἐκ Κεγχρειῶν κομίζεσθαι, οὐκ ἐποίησε ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ μάλα ἀπορούντων τῶν Θηβαίων πῶς χρὴ ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς Σικυῶνα βλέποντος καταβῆναι ἢ πάλιν ἀπελθεῖν, σπονδὰς ποιησάμενος, ὥς τοῖς πλείστοις ἐδόκει, πρὸς Θηβαίων μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς ἑαυτῶν, οὕτως ἀπῆλθε καὶ τοὺς μεθ' αὐτοῦ ἀπήγαγεν.
- 18 Οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ἀσφαλῶς καταβάντες καὶ συμμείξαντες τοῖς ἑαυτῶν συμμάχοις, Ἀρκάσι τε καὶ Ἀργείοις καὶ Ἡλείοις, εὐθύς μὲν προσέβαλον πρὸς Σικυῶνα καὶ Πελλήνην· στρατευσάμενοι δὲ εἰς Ἐπίδαυρον ἐδήλωσαν αὐτῶν πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν. ἀναχωροῦντες δὲ ἐκείθεν μάλα πάντων ὑπεροπτικῶς τῶν ἐναντίων, ὥς ἐγένοντο ἐγγὺς τοῦ Κορινθίων ἄσπεως, δρόμῳ ἐφέροντο πρὸς τὰς πύλας τὰς ἐπὶ Φλειοῦντα ἰόντι, ὥς εἰ ἀνεωγμέναι τύχοιεν,
- 19 εἰσπεσεύμενοι. ἐκβοηθήσαντες δέ τινες ψιλοὶ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀπαντῶσι τῶν Θηβαίων τοῖς ἐπιλέκτοις οὐδὲ τέτταρα πλέθρα ἀπέχουσι τοῦ τείχους· καὶ ἀναβάντες ἐπὶ τὰ μνήματα καὶ τὰ ὑπερέχοντα χωρία, βάλλοντες καὶ ἀκοντίζοντες ἀποκτείνουσι τῶν πρώτων καὶ μάλα συχνοὺς, καὶ

And when such as came out of the affair with their 369 A.C. lives had made their escape to the nearest hill, although the polemarch of the Lacedaemonians might have got as many hoplites and as many peltasts as he pleased from the forces of the allies and might have held his position—for supplies might have been brought in safety from Cenchreae—he did not do this, but while the Thebans were in great perplexity as to how they were to descend on the side looking toward Sicyon, failing which they would have to go back again, he concluded a truce which, as most people thought, was more to the advantage of the Thebans than to that of his own side, and under these circumstances departed and led away the troops under his command.

The Thebans, then, after descending in safety and effecting a junction with their allies, the Arcadians, Argives, and Eleans, immediately attacked Sicyon and Pellene; they also made an expedition to Epidaurus, and laid waste the whole territory of the Epidaurians. Returning from there in a manner which showed great disdain for all their adversaries, as soon as they came near the city of the Corinthians they rushed at the double toward the gates through which one passes in going to Phlius, with the intention of bursting in if they chanced to be open. But some light troops sallied forth from the city against them and met the picked men¹ of the Thebans at a distance of not so much as four plethra from the city walls; then they climbed up on burial monuments and elevated spots, killed a very considerable number of the troops in the front ranks by hurling javelins and other missiles, and after

¹ The famous "Sacred Band."

τρεψάμενοι ἐδίωκον ὡς τρία ἢ τέτταρα στάδια. τούτου δὲ γενομένου οἱ Κορίνθιοι τοὺς νεκροὺς πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος ἐλκύσαντες καὶ ὑποσπόνδους ἀποδόντες τροπαῖον ἔστησαν. καὶ ταύτῃ μὲν ἀνεψύχθησαν οἱ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων σύμμαχοι.

- 20 Ἄμα τε δὴ πεπραγμένων τούτων καταπλεῖ Λακεδαιμονίοις ἢ παρὰ Διονυσίου βοήθεια, τριήρεις πλέον ἢ εἴκοσιν. ἦγον δὲ Κελτούς τε καὶ Ἴβηρας καὶ ἱππέας ὡς πεντήκοντα. τῇ δ' ὕστεραίᾳ οἱ Θηβαῖοί τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι αὐτῶν σύμμαχοι διαταξάμενοι καὶ ἐμπλήσαντες τὸ πεδῖον μέχρι τῆς θαλάττης καὶ μέχρι τῶν ἐχομένων τῆς πόλεως γηλόφων ἔφθειρον εἴ τι χρήσιμον ἦν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ. καὶ οἱ μὲν τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ οἱ τῶν Κορινθίων ἱππεῖς οὐ μάλα ἐπλησίαζον τῷ στρατεύματι,
- 21 ὁρῶντες ἰσχυρὰ καὶ πολλὰ τάντίπαλα. οἱ δὲ παρὰ τοῦ Διονυσίου ἱππεῖς, ὅσοιπερ ἦσαν,¹ οὗτοι διεσκεδασμένοι ἄλλος ἄλλη παραθέοντες ἠκόντιζόν τε προσελαύνοντες, καὶ ἐπεὶ ὥρμων ἐπ' αὐτούς, ἀνεχώρουν, καὶ πάλιν ἀναστρέφοντες ἠκόντιζον. καὶ ταῦτα ἅμα ποιοῦντες κατέβαινον ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων καὶ ἀνεπαύοντο. εἰ δὲ καταβεβηκόσιν ἐπελαύνοιέν τινες, εὐπετῶς ἀναπηδῶντες ἀνεχώρουν. εἰ δ' αὖ τινες διώξιαν αὐτοὺς πολὺ ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατεύματος, τούτους, ὅποτε ἀποχωροῖεν, ἐπικείμενοι καὶ ἀκοντίζοντες δεινὰ εἰργάζοντο, καὶ πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα ἠνάγκαζον ἑαυτῶν ἕνεκα καὶ
- 22 προΐεναι καὶ ἀναχωρεῖν. μετὰ ταῦτα μέντοι οἱ

¹ ὅσοιπερ ἦσαν MSS.: ὅσοι παρήσαν Kol.

putting the rest to flight, pursued them about three or four stadia. When this had taken place the Corinthians dragged the bodies to the wall, and after they had given them back under a truce, set up a trophy. In this way the allies of the Lacedaemonians were renewed in their spirits. 369 B.C.

Just after these events had happened, the expedition sent by Dionysius to aid the Lacedaemonians sailed in, numbering more than twenty triremes. And they brought Celts, Iberians, and about fifty horsemen. On the following day the Thebans and the rest, their allies, after forming themselves in detached bodies and filling the plain as far as the sea and as far as the hills adjoining the city, destroyed whatever of value there was in the plain. And the horsemen of the Athenians and of the Corinthians did not approach very near their army, seeing that the enemy were strong and numerous. But the horsemen sent by Dionysius, few though they were, scattering themselves here and there, would ride along the enemy's line, charge upon them and throw javelins at them, and when the enemy began to move forth against them, would retreat, and then turn round and throw their javelins again. And while pursuing these tactics they would dismount from their horses and rest. But if anyone charged upon them while they were dismounted, they would leap easily upon their horses and retreat. On the other hand, if any pursued them far from the Theban army, they would press upon these men when they were retiring, and by throwing javelins work havoc with them, and thus they compelled the entire army, according to their own will, either to advance or to fall back. After this, however,

Θηβαῖοι μέιναντες οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ἀπῆλθον οἴκαδε, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ ἕκαστος οἴκαδε. ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐμβάλλουσιν οἱ παρὰ Διονυσίου εἰς Σικυῶνα, καὶ μάχη μὲν νικῶσι τοὺς Σικυωνίους ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, καὶ ἀπέκτειναν περὶ ἑβδομήκοντα· Δέρας δὲ τεῖχος κατὰ κράτος αἰροῦσι. καὶ ἡ μὲν παρὰ Διονυσίου πρώτη βοήθεια ταῦτα πράξασα ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Συρακούσας.

- Θηβαῖοι δὲ καὶ πάντες οἱ ἀποστάντες ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων μέχρι μὲν τούτου τοῦ χρόνου ὁμοθυμαδὸν καὶ ἔπραττον καὶ ἐστρατεύοντο ἡγουμένων Θηβαίων. ἐγγενόμενος δὲ τις Λυκομήδης Μαντινεὺς, γένει τε οὐδενὸς ἐνδεὲς χρήμασί τε προήκων καὶ ἄλλως φιλότιμος, οὗτος ἐνέπλησε φρονήματος τοὺς Ἀρκάδας, λέγων ὥς μόνοις μὲν αὐτοῖς πατρὶς Πελοπόννησος εἴη, μόνοι γὰρ αὐτόχθονες ἐν αὐτῇ οἰκοῖεν, πλείστον δὲ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν φύλων τὸ Ἀρκαδικὸν εἴη καὶ σώματα ἐγκρατέστατα ἔχοι. καὶ ἀλκιμωτάτους δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀπεδείκνυε, τεκμήρια παρεχόμενος ὥς ἐπικούρων ὅποτε δεηθεῖεν τινες, οὐδένας ἡροῦντο ἀντ' Ἀρκάδων. ἔτι δὲ οὔτε Λακεδαιμονίους πώποτε ἄνευ σφῶν ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας οὔτε νῦν Θηβαίους ἐλθεῖν ἄνευ Ἀρκάδων εἰς Λακεδαίμονα.
- 24 Ἐὰν οὖν σωφρονήτε, τοῦ ἀκολουθεῖν ὅποι ἂν τις παρακαλῇ φείσεσθε· ὥς πρότερόν τε Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀκολουθοῦντες ἐκείνους ἠϋξήσατε, νῦν δ', ἐὰν Θηβαίοις εἰκῇ ἀκολουθῆτε καὶ μὴ κατὰ μέρος

the Thebans remained but a few days and then returned home, and the others likewise to their several homes. Then the troops sent by Dionysius invaded the territory of Sicyon, and they not only defeated the Sicyonians in battle on the plain and killed about seventy of them, but captured by storm the stronghold of Deras. After these exploits the first supporting force sent out by Dionysius sailed back to Syracuse. 369 B.C

Up to this time the Thebans and all who had revolted from the Lacedaemonians had been acting and carrying on their campaigns in full accord, under the leadership of the Thebans. Now, however, there appeared a certain Lycomedes of Mantinea, a man inferior to none in birth, foremost in wealth, and ambitious besides, and filled the Arcadians with self-confidence, saying that it was to them alone that Peloponnesus was a fatherland, since they were the only autochthonous stock that dwelt therein, and that the Arcadian people was the most numerous of all the Greek peoples and had the strongest bodies. He also declared that they were the bravest, offering as evidence the fact that whenever men needed mercenaries, there were none whom they chose in preference to Arcadians. Furthermore, the Lacedaemonians had never, he said, invaded the territory of Athens without their help, nor had the Thebans at present come to Lacedaemon without the help of the Arcadians. "If you are wise, therefore, you will leave off following wherever anyone summons you; for in former days, by following the Lacedaemonians, you made them great, and now, if you follow the Thebans heedlessly and do not make the claim to enjoy the leadership by turns with them,

ἡγεῖσθαι ἀξιῶτε, ἴσως τάχα τούτους ἄλλους Λα-
 κεδαιμονίους εὐρήσετε. οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἀρκάδες ταῦτα
 ἀκούοντες ἀνεφυσῶντό τε καὶ ὑπερεφίλουν τὸν
 Λυκομήδην καὶ μόνον ἄνδρα ἡγοῦντο· ὥστε ἄρ-
 χοντας ἔταττον οὐστinas ἐκεῖνος κελεύοι. καὶ ἐκ
 τῶν συμβαινόντων δὲ ἔργων ἐμεγαλύνοντο οἱ Ἀρ-
 25 κάδες· ἐμβαλόντων μὲν γὰρ εἰς Ἐπίδαυρον τῶν
 Ἀργείων, καὶ ἀποκλεισθέντων τῆς ἐξόδου ὑπὸ τε
 τῶν μετὰ Χαβρίου ξένων καὶ Ἀθηναίων καὶ
 Κορινθίων, βοηθήσαντες μάλα πολιορκουμένους
 ἐξελύσαντο τοὺς Ἀργεῖους, οὐ μόνον τοῖς ἀνδρά-
 σιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς χωρίοις πολεμίοις χρώμενοι.
 στρατευσάμενοι δὲ καὶ εἰς Ἀσίνην τῆς Λακαίνης
 ἐνίκησάν τε τὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων φρουρὰν καὶ
 τὸν Γεράνορα τὸν Σπαρτιάτην πολέμαρχον γεγε-
 νημένον ἀπέκτειναν καὶ τὸ προάστιον τῶν Ἀσι-
 ναίων ἐπόρθησαν. ὅπου δὲ βουλευθεῖεν ἐξελεῖν,
 οὐ νύξ, οὐ χειμῶν, οὐ μῆκος ὁδοῦ, οὐκ ὄρη δύσ-
 βατα ἀπεκώλυεν αὐτούς· ὥστε ἔν γε ἐκείνῳ τῷ
 26 χρόνῳ πολὺ ᾤοντο κράτιστοι εἶναι. οἱ μὲν δὴ
 Θηβαῖοι διὰ ταῦτα ὑποφθόνως καὶ οὐκέτι φιλι-
 κῶς εἶχον πρὸς τοὺς Ἀρκάδας. οἳ γε μὴν Ἥλείοι
 ἐπεὶ ἀπαιτοῦντες τὰς πόλεις τοὺς Ἀρκάδας ἅς
 ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀφηρέθησαν, ἔγνωσαν αὐτοὺς
 τοὺς μὲν ἑαυτῶν λόγους ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ποιου-
 μένους, τοὺς δὲ Τριφυλίους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς
 ἀπὸ σφῶν ἀποστάντας περὶ παντὸς ποιουμένους,
 ὅτι Ἀρκάδες ἔφασαν εἶναι, ἐκ τούτων αὐ καὶ οἱ
 Ἥλείοι δυσμενῶς εἶχον πρὸς αὐτούς.

it may be that you will soon find in them another set of Lacedaemonians." Upon hearing these words the Arcadians were puffed up, and loved Lycomedes beyond measure, and thought that he alone was a man; so that they appointed as their leaders whomsoever he directed them to appoint. But the Arcadians were exalted as a result also of the actual achievements which fell to their lot; for when the Argives had invaded the country of Epidaurus and their way out had been barred by the mercenaries under Chabrias, and by the Athenians, and the Corinthians, they went to the rescue and released the Argives from an absolute blockade, although they had not only the enemy's troops but also the character of the country to contend with. They also made an expedition to Asine in Laconia, defeated the garrison of the Lacedaemonians, slew Geranor, the Spartiate who had become polemarch, and plundered the outer city of the Asinaeans. And whenever they wished to take the field, neither night nor storm nor length of journey nor difficult mountains would prevent them; so that at that time they counted themselves altogether the strongest of the Greeks. For these reasons the Thebans naturally felt somewhat jealous and no longer friendly toward the Arcadians. As for the Eleans, when they demanded back again from the Arcadians the cities of which they had been deprived by the Lacedaemonians and found that the Arcadians gave no heed to their words, but paid the highest regard to the Triphylians and the others who had revolted from them, because these people said they were Arcadians, as a result of this the Eleans in their turn felt unfriendly toward them.

27 Οὕτω δ' ἐκάστων μέγα ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς φρονούντων τῶν συμμάχων, ἔρχεται Φιλίσκος Ἀβυδηνὸς παρ' Ἀριοβαρζάνους χρήματα ἔχων πολλά. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν εἰς Δελφοὺς συνήγαγε περὶ εἰρήνης Θηβαίους καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους καὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. ἐκεῖ δὲ ἐλθόντες τῷ μὲν θεῷ οὐδὲν ἀνεκοινώσαντο ὅπως ἂν ἡ εἰρήνη γένοιτο, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐβουλευόντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐ συνεχώρουν οἱ Θηβαῖοι Μεσσήνην ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίοις εἶναι, ξενικὸν πολὺ συνέλεγεν ὁ Φιλίσκος, ὅπως πολεμοίῃ μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων.

28 Τούτων δὲ πραττομένων ἀφικνεῖται καὶ ἡ παρὰ Διουνυσίου δευτέρα βοήθεια. λεγόντων δὲ Ἀθηναίων μὲν ὡς χρεὼν εἴη αὐτοὺς ἵεναι εἰς Θηταλίαν τὰναντία Θηβαίοις, Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ ὡς εἰς τὴν Λακωνικὴν, ταῦτα ἐν τοῖς συμμάχοις ἐνίκησεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ περιέπλευσαν οἱ παρὰ Διουνυσίου εἰς Λακεδαίμονα, λαβὼν αὐτοὺς Ἀρχίδαμος μετὰ τῶν πολιτικῶν ἐστρατεύετο. καὶ Καρύας μὲν ἐξαιρεῖ κατὰ κράτος, καὶ ὅσους ζῶντας ἔλαβεν, ἀπέσφαξεν. ἐκεῖθεν δ' εὐθὺς στρατεύσάμενος εἰς Παρρασίους τῆς Ἀρκαδίας μετ' αὐτῶν ἐδήου τὴν

29 χώραν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐβοήθησαν οἱ Ἀρκάδες καὶ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι, ἐπαναχωρήσας ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ Μηλέας γηλόφοις. ἐνταῦθα δ' ὄντος αὐτοῦ Κισσίδας ὁ ἄρχων τῆς παρὰ Διουνυσίου βοηθείας ἔλεγεν ὅτι ἐξήκοι αὐτῷ ὁ χρόνος ὃς εἰρημένος ἦν παραμένειν. καὶ ἅμα ταῦτ' ἔλεγε

While the several allies were each thus filled with 368 B.C.
proud confidence in themselves, Philiscus of Abydus came from Ariobarzanes¹ with a large amount of money. And in the first place he brought together at Delphi the Thebans, their allies, and the Lacedaemonians to negotiate in regard to peace. But when they had arrived there, they did not consult the god at all as to how peace should be brought about, but deliberated for themselves. Since, however, the Thebans would not agree that Messene should be subject to the Lacedaemonians,² Philiscus set about collecting a large mercenary force in order to make war on the side of the Lacedaemonians.

While these things were going on the second supporting force sent out by Dionysius arrived. And when the Athenians said that it ought to go to Thessaly to oppose the Thebans, while the Lacedaemonians urged that it should go to Laconia, the latter plan carried the day among the allies. Accordingly, after these troops from Dionysius had sailed round to Lacedaemon, Archidamus took them, along with his citizen soldiers, and set out on an expedition. He captured Caryae by storm and put to the sword all whom he took prisoners. From there he marched at once with his united forces against the people of Parrhasia, in Arcadia, and laid waste their land. But when the Arcadians and Argives came to their assistance, he retired and encamped in the hills above Melea. While he was there Cissidas, the commander of the supporting force from Dionysius, said that the time for which he had been directed to stay had expired. And as soon as he had said this he departed by the road

¹ *cp.* v. i. 28.

² See note on VI. v. 32.

- καὶ ἀπῆει τὴν ἐπὶ Σπάρτης. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀποπορευόμενον ὑπετέμνοντο αὐτὸν οἱ Μεσσήνιοι ἐπὶ στενῷ τῆς ὁδοῦ, ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἔπεμπεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον καὶ βοηθεῖν ἐκέλευε. καὶ κεῖνος μέντοι ἐβοήθει. ὥς δὲ ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ ἐπ' Εὐτρησίους ἐκτροπῇ, οἱ μὲν Ἀρκάδες καὶ Ἀργεῖοι προσέβαινον εἰς τὴν Λάκαιναν, καὶ οὗτοι ὥς ἀποκλείσοντες αὐτὸν τῆς ἐπ' οἶκον ὁδοῦ. ὁ δέ, οὐπὲρ ἐστὶ χωρίον ἐπίπεδον ἐν ταῖς συμβολαῖς τῆς τε ἐπ' Εὐτρησίων καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ Μηλέας ὁδοῦ, ἐνταῦθα ἐκβὰς παρετάξατο ὥς
- 30 μαχούμενος. ἔφασαν δ' αὐτὸν καὶ πρὸ τῶν λόχων παριόντα τοιάδε παρακελεύεσθαι· Ἄνδρες πολῖται, νῦν ἀγαθοὶ γενόμενοι ἀναβλέψωμεν ὀρθοῖς ὄμμασιν· ἀποδῶμεν τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις τὴν πατρίδα οἷαν περ παρὰ τῶν πατέρων παρελάβομεν· παυσώμεθα αἰσχυρόμενοι καὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ πρεσβυτέρους καὶ ξένους, ἐν οἷς πρόσθεν γε πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων περιβλεπτότατοι
- 31 ἦμεν. τούτων δὲ ῥηθέντων ἕξ αἰθρίας ἀστραπᾶς τε καὶ βροντὰς λέγουσιν αἰσίους αὐτῷ φανῆναι· συνέβη δὲ καὶ πρὸς τῷ δεξιῷ κέρατι τέμενός τε καὶ ἄγαλμα Ἡρακλέους¹ εἶναι, τοιγαροῦν ἐκ τούτων πάντων οὕτω πολὺ μένος καὶ θάρρος τοῖς στρατιώταις φασὶν ἐμπεσεῖν ὥστ' ἔργον εἶναι τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἀνείργειν τοὺς στρατιώτας ὠθουμένους εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν. ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἡγεῖτο ὁ Ἀρχίδαμος,

After Ἡρακλέους the MSS. have οὐ δὴ καὶ ἀπόγονος λέγεται: bracketed by Kel. and all edd., following Cobet.

leading to Sparta. But when, as he was marching away, the Messenians tried to cut him off at a narrow place on the road, thereupon he sent to Archidamus and bade him come to his aid. And Archidamus did in fact do so. Then as soon as they all arrived at the branch road leading to the country of the Eutresians, there were the Arcadians and Argives advancing towards Laconia, they also having the intention of shutting off Archidamus from his homeward way. He accordingly, at just the point where there is a level space at the junction of the road leading to the Eutresians and the road to Melea, turned out of his path and formed his troops in line for battle. It is said that he also went along in front of the battalions and exhorted his men in the following words: "Fellow citizens, let us now prove ourselves brave men and thus be able to look people in the face; let us hand on to those who come after us the fatherland as it was when we received it from our fathers; let us cease to feel shame before wives and children and elders and strangers, in whose eyes we used once to be the most highly honoured of all the Greeks." When these words had been spoken, it is said that from a clear sky there came lightnings and thunderings of favourable omen for him; and it chanced also that on the right wing was a sanctuary and a statue of Heracles.¹ As a result, therefore, of all these things, it is reported that the soldiers were inspired with so much strength and courage that it was a task for their leaders to restrain them as they pushed forward to the front. And when Archidamus led the advance, only a few of the

¹ The circumstance was of good omen because Heracles was the traditional ancestor of the Spartan kings.

- ὀλίγοι μὲν τῶν πολεμίων δεξάμενοι εἰς δόρυ αὐ-
 τοὺς ἀπέθανον· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι φεύγοντες ἔπιπτον,
 πολλοὶ μὲν ὑπὸ ἵππέων, πολλοὶ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Κελ-
 32 τῶν. ὥς δὲ ληξάσης τῆς μάχης τροπαῖον ἐστή-
 σατο, εὐθὺς ἔπεμψεν οἴκαδε ἀγγελοῦντα Δημοτέλη
 τὸν κήρυκα τῆς τε νίκης τὸ μέγεθος καὶ ὅτι Λακε-
 δαιμονίων μὲν οὐδὲ εἰς τεθναίῃ, τῶν δὲ πολεμίων
 παμπληθεῖς. τοὺς μέντοι ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἔφασαν
 ἀκούσαντας ἄρξαμένους ἀπὸ Ἀγησιλάου καὶ τῶν
 γερόντων καὶ τῶν ἐφόρων πάντας κλαίειν· οὕτω
 κοινόν τι ἄρα χαρὰ καὶ λύπη δάκρυά ἐστιν. ἐπὶ
 μέντοι τῇ τῶν Ἀρκάδων τύχῃ οὐ πολὺ τι ἦττον
 Λακεδαιμονίων ἥσθησαν Θηβαῖοι τε καὶ Ἥλειοι·
 οὕτως ἤδη ἤχθοντο ἐπὶ τῷ φρονήματι αὐτῶν.
- 33 Συνεχῶς δὲ βουλευόμενοι Θηβαῖοι ὅπως ἂν τὴν
 ἡγεμονίαν λάβοιεν τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἐνόμισαν, εἰ
 πέμψειαν πρὸς τὸν Περσῶν βασιλέα, πλεον-
 εκτῆσαι ἂν τι ἐν ἐκείνῳ. καὶ ἐκ τούτου παρακαλέ-
 σαντες ἤδη τοὺς συμμάχους ἐπὶ προφάσει ὅτι καὶ
 Εὐθυκλῆς ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος εἶη παρὰ βασιλεῖ,
 ἀναβαίνουσι Θηβαίων μὲν Πελοπίδας, Ἀρκάδων
 δὲ Ἀντίοχος ὁ παγκρατιαστής, Ἥλειων δὲ Ἀρ-
 χίδαμος· ἠκολούθει δὲ καὶ Ἀργεῖος. καὶ οἱ Ἀθη-
 ναῖοι ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα ἀνέπεμψαν Τιμαγόραν τε
 34 καὶ Λέοντα. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖ ἐγένοντο, πολὺ ἐπλεον-
 ἐκτει ὁ Πελοπίδας παρὰ τῷ Πέρσῃ. εἶχε γὰρ
 λέγειν καὶ ὅτι μόνοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων βασιλεῖ

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enemy waited till his men came within spear-thrust; 368 a.o. these were killed, and the rest were cut down as they fled, many by the horsemen and many by the Celts. Then as soon as the battle had ended and he had set up a trophy, he immediately sent home Demoteles, the herald, to report the greatness of his victory and the fact that not so much as one of the Lacedaemonians had been slain, while vast numbers of the enemy had fallen. And when the people at Sparta heard this, it is said that all of them wept, beginning with Agesilaus, the senators, and the ephors; so true it is, indeed, that tears belong to joy and sorrow alike. On the other hand, both the Thebans and the Eleans were almost as well pleased as the Lacedaemonians at the misfortune of the Arcadians—so vexed had they become by this time at their presumption.

And now the Thebans, who were continually planning how they might obtain the leadership of Greece, 367 a.o. hit upon the idea that if they should send to the King of the Persians, they would gain some advantage in him. Thereupon they immediately summoned their allies, on the pretext that Euthycles, the Lacedaemonian, was also at the King's court; and there went up thither Pelopidas for the Thebans, Antiochus, the pancratiast,¹ for the Arcadians, and Archidamus for the Eleans; an Argive also went with them. And the Athenians, upon hearing of this, sent up Timagoras and Leon. When the ambassadors arrived there, Pelopidas enjoyed a great advantage with the Persian. For he was able to say that his people were the only ones among the Greeks who

¹ The *παγκράτιον*, a regular "event" in the Greek national games, was a combination of boxing and wrestling.

- συνεμάχοντο ἐν Πλαταιαῖς, καὶ ὅτι ὕστερον οὐ-
 δεπώποτε στρατεύσαιντο ἐπὶ βασιλέα, καὶ ὡς
 Λακεδαιμόνιοι διὰ τοῦτο πολεμήσειαν αὐτοῖς, ὅτι
 οὐκ ἐβελήσαιεν μετ' Ἀγησιλάου ἐλθεῖν ἐπ' αὐτὸν
 οὐδὲ θῦσαι ἐάσαιεν αὐτὸν ἐν Αὐλίδι τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι,
 ἔνθαπερ Ἀγαμέμνων ὅτε εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐξέπλει
 35 θύσας εἶλε Τροίαν. μέγα δὲ συνεβάλλετο τῷ
 Πελοπίδᾳ εἰς τὸ τιμᾶσθαι καὶ ὅτι ἐνενικήκεσαν
 οἱ Θηβαῖοι μάχῃ ἐν Λεύκτροις καὶ ὅτι πεπορθη-
 κότες τὴν χώραν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐφαίνοντο.
 ἔλεγε δὲ ὁ Πελοπίδας ὅτι οἱ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ οἱ Ἀρ-
 κάδες μάχῃ ἡττημένοι εἶεν ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων,
 ἐπεὶ αὐτοὶ οὐ παρεγένοντο. συνεμαρτύρει δ' αὐτῷ
 ταῦτα πάντα ὡς ἀληθῇ λέγοι ὁ Ἀθηναῖος Τιμα-
 γόρας, καὶ ἐτιμᾶτο δεύτερος μετὰ τὸν Πελοπίδαν.
 36 ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐρωτώμενος ὑπὸ βασιλέως ὁ Πελο-
 πίδας τί βούλοιο ἐαυτῷ γραφῆναι εἶπεν ὅτι
 Μεσσήνην τε αὐτόνομον εἶναι ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων
 καὶ Ἀθηναίους ἀνέλκειν τὰς ναῦς· εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὴ
 πείθοιντο, στρατεύειν ἐπ' αὐτούς· εἴ τις δὲ πόλις
 μὴ ἐθέλοι ἀκολουθεῖν, ἐπὶ ταύτην πρῶτον ἰέναι.
 37 γραφέντων δὲ τούτων καὶ ἀναγνωσθέντων τοῖς
 πρέσβεσιν, εἶπεν ὁ Λέων ἀκούοντος τοῦ βασιλέως·
 Νῆ Δία, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὦρα γε ὑμῖν, ὡς ἔοικεν,
 ἄλλον τινὰ φίλον ἀντὶ βασιλέως ζητεῖν. ἐπεὶ δὲ
 ἀπήγγειλεν ὁ γραμματεὺς ἃ εἶπεν ὁ Ἀθηναῖος,

had fought on the side of the King at Plataea, that they had never afterwards undertaken a campaign against the King, and that the Lacedaemonians had made war upon them for precisely the reason that they had declined to go with Agesilaus against him¹ and had refused to permit Agesilaus to sacrifice to Artemis at Aulis,² the very spot where Agamemnon, at the time when he was sailing forth to Asia, had sacrificed before he captured Troy. It also contributed greatly toward the winning of honour for Pelopidas that the Thebans had been victorious in battle at Leuctra, and that they had admittedly ravaged the country of the Lacedaemonians. Pelopidas also said that the Argives and Arcadians had been defeated by the Lacedaemonians when the Thebans were not present with them. And the Athenian, Timagoras, bore witness in his behalf that all these things which he said were true, and so stood second in honour to Pelopidas. Pelopidas was therefore asked by the King what he desired to have written for him; he replied, that Messene should be independent of the Lacedaemonians and that the Athenians should draw up their ships on the land; that if they refused obedience in these points, the contracting parties were to make an expedition against them; and that if any city refused to join in such expedition, they were to proceed first of all against that city. When these things had been written and read to the ambassadors, Leon said in the King's hearing, "By Zeus, Athenians, it is time for you, it seems, to be seeking some other friend instead of the King." And when the secretary had interpreted to the King what the Athenian had said, he again

¹ See III. v. 5. ² This incident is described in III. iv. 3-4.

πάλιν ἐξήνεγκε προσγεγραμμένα· εἰ δέ τι δικαιότερον τούτων γινώσκουσιν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἴοντας
 38 πρὸς βασιλέα διδάσκειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο οἱ πρέσβεις οἵκαδε ἕκαστοι, τὸν μὲν Τιμαγόραν ἀπέκτειναν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, κατηγοροῦντος τοῦ Λέοντος ὡς οὔτε συσκηνοῦν ἑαυτῷ ἐθέλοι μετὰ τε Πελοπίδου πάντα βουλεύοιτο. τῶν δὲ ἄλλων πρέσβεων ὁ μὲν Ἡλείος Ἀρχίδαμος, ὅτι προτίμῃσεν τὴν Ἥλιν πρὸ τῶν Ἀρκάδων, ἐπὴναι τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, ὁ δὲ Ἀντίοχος, ὅτι ἡλαττοῦτο τὸ Ἀρκαδικόν, οὔτε τὰ δῶρα ἐδέξατο ἀπήγγειλέ τε πρὸς τοὺς μυρίους ὡς βασιλεὺς ἀρτοκόπους μὲν καὶ ὄψοποιούς καὶ οἰνοχόους καὶ θυρωροὺς παμπληθεῖς ἔχοι, ἄνδρας δὲ οἱ μάχονται ἂν Ἑλλησι πάνυ ζητῶν οὐκ ἔφη δύνασθαι ἰδεῖν. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ τὸ τῶν χρημάτων πλῆθος ἀλαζονείαν οἱ γε δοκεῖν ἔφη εἶναι, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὴν ὑμνουμένην ἂν χρυσὴν πλάτανον οὐχ ἱκανὴν ἔφη εἶναι τέττιγι σκιὰν παρέχειν.

39 Ὡς δὲ οἱ Θηβαῖοι συνεκάλεσαν ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων ἀπασῶν ἀκουσομένους τῆς παρὰ βασιλέως ἐπιστολῆς, καὶ ὁ Πέρσης ὁ φέρων τὰ γράμματα δείξας τὴν βασιλέως σφραγίδα ἀνέγνω τὰ γεγεγραμμένα, οἱ μὲν Θηβαῖοι ὁμνῦναι ταῦτα ἐκέλευον βασιλεῖ καὶ ἑαυτοῖς τοὺς βουλομένους φίλους εἶναι, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων ἀπεκρίναντο ὅτι οὐκ ὁμούμενοι ἀλλ' ἀκουσόμενοι πεμφθείησαν· εἰ δέ τι ὄρκων δέοιντο, πρὸς τὰς πόλεις πέμπειν ἐκέλευον. ὁ μὲντοι Ἀρκὰς Λυκομήδης καὶ τοῦτο

brought out a further writing: "And if the Athenians 807 A.C. are aware of anything juster than these provisions, let them come to the King and inform him." Now when the ambassadors had returned to their several homes, Timagoras was put to death by the Athenians on the complaint of Leon that he had refused to share quarters with him and had taken counsel in all matters with Pelopidas. As for the other ambassadors, Archidamus, the Elean, praised the doings of the King, because he had honoured Elis above the Arcadians; but Antiochus, because the Arcadian League was less regarded, did not accept the royal gifts, and reported back to the Ten Thousand¹ that the King had bakers, and cooks, and wine-pourers, and door-keepers in vast numbers, but as for men who could fight with Greeks, he said that though he sought diligently he could not see any. Besides this, he said that for his part he thought that the King's wealth of money was also mere pretence, for he said that even the golden plane-tree, that was forever harped upon, was not large enough to afford shade for a grasshopper.

When the Thebans had called together representatives from all the cities to hear the letter from the King, and the Persian who bore the document, having shown the King's seal, had read what was written therein, although the Thebans directed those who desired to be friends of the King and themselves to swear to these provisions, the representatives from the cities replied that they had not been sent to give their oaths, but to listen; and if the Thebans had any desire for oaths, they bade them send to the cities. Indeed the Arcadian, Lycomedes, said this besides,

¹ i.e. the Arcadian assembly.

ἔλεγεν, ὅτι οὐδὲ τὸν σύλλογον ἐν Θήβαις δέοι εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἐνθα ἂν ᾗ ὁ πόλεμος. χαλεπαινόντων δ' αὐτῷ τῶν Θηβαίων καὶ λεγόντων ὡς διαφθείροι τὸ συμμαχικόν, οὐδ' εἰς τὸ συνέδριον ἤθελε καθί-
 40 ζειν, ἀλλ' ἀπιὼν ὥχето, καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ πάντες οἱ
 ἐξ Ἀρκαδίας πρέσβεις. ὡς δ' ἐν Θήβαις οὐκ
 ἠθέλησαν οἱ συνελθόντες ὁμόσαι, ἔπεμπον οἱ Θη-
 βαῖοι πρέσβεις ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις, ὁμνύναι κελεύ-
 οντες ποιήσκειν κατὰ τὰ βασιλέως γράμματα,
 νομίζοντες ὁκνήσειν μίαν ἐκάστην τῶν πόλεων
 ἀπεχθάνεσθαι ἅμα ἑαυτοῖς τε καὶ βασιλεῖ. ἐπεὶ
 μέντοι εἰς Κόρινθον πρῶτον αὐτῶν ἀφικομένων
 ὑπέστησαν οἱ Κορίνθιοι, καὶ ἀπεκρίναντο ὅτι
 οὐδὲν δέοιντο πρὸς βασιλέα κοινῶν ὄρκων, ἐπη-
 κολούθησαν καὶ ἄλλαι πόλεις κατὰ ταῦτά ἀπο-
 κρινόμεναι. καὶ αὕτη μὲν ἡ Πελοπίδου καὶ τῶν
 Θηβαίων τῆς ἀρχῆς περιβολὴ οὕτω διελύθη.

II Αὐθις δ' Ἐπαμεινώνδας, βουλευθεὶς τοὺς
 Ἀχαιοὺς προσαγαγέσθαι, ὅπως μᾶλλον σφίσι
 καὶ οἱ Ἀρκάδες καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι προσέ-
 χοιεν τὸν νοῦν, ἔγνω ἐκστρατευτέον εἶναι ἐπὶ τὴν
 Ἀχαΐαν. Πεισίαν οὖν τὸν Ἀργεῖον στρατηγοῦντα
 ἐν τῷ Ἀργεῖ πείθει προκαταλαβεῖν τὸ Ὀνειον.
 καὶ ὁ Πεισίας μέντοι καταμαθὼν ἀμελουμένην
 τὴν τοῦ Ὀνειοῦ φυλακὴν ὑπὸ τε Ναυκλέους, ὃς
 ἦρχε τοῦ ξενικοῦ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, καὶ ὑπὸ
 Τιμομάχου τοῦ Ἀθηναίου, καταλαμβάνει νύκτωρ

that it was not even proper for the congress to be held in Thebes, but rather at the seat of war, wherever it might be. Then, since the Thebans were angry with him and said that he was destroying the compact of alliance, he refused even to occupy a seat at the congress, but took himself off, and with him went all the ambassadors from Arcadia. Accordingly, inasmuch as those who had come together refused to take the oath at Thebes, the Thebans sent ambassadors to the cities and directed them to swear that they would act in accordance with the King's letter, believing that each one of the cities taken singly would hesitate to incur the hatred of themselves and the King at the same time. When, however, upon the arrival of the ambassadors at Corinth, their first stopping-place, the Corinthians resisted the proposal, and replied that they had no desire for oaths shared with the King, then other cities also followed suit, giving their answers in the same terms. Thus it was that this attempt on the part of Pelopidas and the Thebans to gain the leadership came to its end. 337 B.C.

Epaminondas, on the other hand, wishing to bring over the Achaeans to the side of the Thebans, in order that the Arcadians and the other allies might be more inclined to give heed to them, decided that he must march forth against Achaëa. He therefore persuaded Peisias, the Argive, who held the position of general at Argos, to occupy Oneum¹ in advance. And Peisias, after he had learned that the guard over Oneum was being maintained carelessly by Naucles, who commanded the mercenary troops of the Lacedaemonians, and by Timomachus, the Athenian, did

¹ A mountain range, south-east of Corinth, over which the road from Northern Greece into Peloponnesus passed.

- μετὰ δισχιλίῳν ὀπλιτῶν τὸν ὑπὲρ Κεγχρειῶν
 42 λόφον, ἔχων ἐπτὰ ἡμερῶν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. ἐν δὲ ταύταις ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐλθόντες οἱ Θηβαῖοι ὑπερβαίνουσι τὸ Ὀνειον, καὶ στρατεύουσι πάντες οἱ σύμμαχοι ἐπ' Ἀχαΐαν, ἡγουμένου Ἐπαμεινώνδου. προσπεσόντων δ' αὐτῷ τῶν βελτίστων ἐκ τῆς Ἀχαΐας, ἐνδυναστεύει ὁ Ἐπαμεινώνδας ὥστε μὴ φυγαδεῦσαι τοὺς κρατίστους μήτε πολιτείαν μεταστῆσαι, ἀλλὰ πιστὰ λαβὼν παρὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἢ μὴν συμμάχους ἔσεσθαι καὶ ἀκολουθήσειν ὅποι ἂν Θηβαῖοι ἡγῶνται, οὕτως ἀπῆλθεν
 43 οἴκαδε. κατηγορούντων δὲ αὐτοῦ τῶν τε Ἀρκάδων καὶ τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν ὡς Λακεδαιμονίοις κατεσκευακῶς τὴν Ἀχαΐαν ἀπέλθοι, ἔδοξε Θηβαίοις πέμψαι ἄρμους εἰς τὰς Ἀχαΐδας πόλεις. οἱ δ' ἐλθόντες τοὺς μὲν βελτίστους σὺν τῷ πλήθει ἐξέβαλον, δημοκρατίας δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀχαΐᾳ κατέστησαν. οἱ μέντοι ἐκπεσόντες συστάντες ταχύ, ἐπὶ μίαν ἐκάστην τῶν πόλεων πορευόμενοι, ὄντες οὐκ ὀλίγοι, κατῆλθόν τε καὶ κατέσχον τὰς πόλεις. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατελθόντες οὐκέτι ἐμέσενον, ἀλλὰ προθύμως συνεμάχουν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἐπιέζοντο οἱ Ἀρκάδες ἔνθεν μὲν ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων, ἔνθεν δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀχαιῶν.
- 44 Ἐν δὲ τῷ Σικυνῶνι τὸ μὲν μέχρι τούτου κατὰ τοὺς ἀρχαίους νόμους ἢ πολιτεία ἦν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου βουλόμενος ὁ Εὐφρων, ὥσπερ παρὰ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις μέγιστος ἦν τῶν πολιτῶν, οὕτω

indeed seize the hill above Cenchreae by night with 367 B.C
 two thousand hoplites, having provisions for seven
 days. Within this number of days the Thebans
 arrived and crossed over Oneum, and all the allies
 thereupon marched against Achaea, under the leader-
 ship of Epaminondas. Now upon the urgent entreaty
 which the aristocrats of Achaea addressed to him,
 Epaminondas effected through his personal influence
 an arrangement that their opponents were not to
 banish the aristocrats or to change the form of
 government, but after receiving pledges from the
 Achaeans that in very truth they would be allies
 and would follow wherever the Thebans led the
 way, he thereupon returned home. When, however,
 the Arcadians and the Achaean opposition brought
 against him the charge that he had arranged matters
 in Achaea in the interest of the Lacedaemonians and
 had then gone away, the Thebans resolved to send
 governors to the Achaean cities. When they arrived
 they drove out the aristocrats, with the assistance of
 the commons, and established democracies in Achaea.
 But those who had been thus exiled speedily banded
 themselves together, proceeded against each one of
 the cities singly, and as they were not few in number,
 accomplished their restoration and gained possession
 of the cities. Then, since after their restoration they
 no longer followed a neutral course, but fought
 zealously in support of the Lacedaemonians, the
 Arcadians were hard pressed by the Lacedaemonians
 on the one side and by the Achaeans on the other.

As for Sicyon, its government up to this time had
 been in conformity with its ancient laws. But now
 Euphron, who had been the most powerful of the
 citizens in his influence with the Lacedaemonians

καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἐναντίοις αὐτῶν πρωτεύειν, λέγει
 πρὸς τοὺς Ἀργεῖους καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀρκάδας ὡς
 εἰ μὲν οἱ πλουσιώτατοι ἐγκρατεῖς ἔσονται τοῦ
 Σικυῶνος, σαφῶς, ὅταν τύχῃ, πάλιν λακωνιεῖ ἡ
 πόλις· Ἐὰν δὲ δημοκρατία γένηται, εὖ ἴστε, ἔφη,
 ὅτι διαμενεῖ ὑμῖν ἡ πόλις. ἔὰν οὖν μοι παραγέ-
 νησθε, ἐγὼ ἔσομαι ὁ συγκαλῶν τὸν δῆμον, καὶ
 ἅμα ἐγὼ ὑμῖν ταύτην πίστιν ἐμαυτοῦ δώσω καὶ
 τὴν πόλιν βέβαιον ἐν τῇ συμμαχίᾳ παρέξω.
 ταῦτα δ', ἔφη, ἐγὼ πράττω εὖ ἴστε ὅτι πάλαι
 μὲν χαλεπῶς φέρων, ὥσπερ ὑμεῖς, τὸ φρόνημα
 τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ἄσμενος δ' ἂν τὴν δουλείαν
 45 ἀποφυγῶν. οἱ οὖν Ἀρκάδες καὶ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι
 ἠδέως ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες παρεγένοντο αὐτῷ. ὁ δ'
 εὐθύς ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ παρόντων τῶν Ἀργείων καὶ
 τῶν Ἀρκάδων συνεκάλει τὸν δῆμον, ὡς τῆς πολι-
 τείας ἐσομένης ἐπὶ τοῖς ἴσοις καὶ ὁμοίοις. ἐπεὶ
 δὲ συνήλθον, στρατηγούς ἐκέλευσεν ἐλέσθαι οὐσ-
 τινὰς αὐτοῖς δοκοίη· οἱ δ' αἰροῦνται αὐτόν τε
 τὸν Εὐφρονα καὶ Ἰππόδαμον καὶ Κλέανδρον καὶ
 Ἀκρίσιον καὶ Λύσανδρον. ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἐπέ-
 πρακτο, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ξενικὸν καθίστησιν Ἀδέαν
 τὸν αὐτοῦ υἱόν, Λυσιμένην τὸν πρόσθεν ἄρχοντα
 46 ἀποστήσας. καὶ εὐθύς μὲν τούτων τῶν ξένων ὁ
 Εὐφρων πιστούς τινας εὖ ποιῶν ἐποιήσατο, καὶ
 ἄλλους προσελάμβανε, οὔτε τῶν δημοσίων οὔτε
 τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων φειδόμενος. καὶ ὅσους δ'
 ἐξέβαλεν ἐπὶ λακωνισμῷ, καὶ τοῖς τούτων χρή-
 260

and wished in like manner to stand first with their 367 B.C.
 adversaries also, said to the Argives and to the Arcadians that if the richest men should remain in control of Sicyon, it was manifest that whenever an opportunity offered, the city would go over to the Lacedaemonians again, "while if a democracy is established, be well assured," he said, "that the city will remain true to you. If, therefore, you will be at hand to support me, I will be the one to call the people together, and I will not only give you in this act a pledge of my good faith, but will make the city steadfast in its alliance with you. This I do, you must understand," he said, "because, like yourselves, I have long found the arrogance of the Lacedaemonians hard to endure, and I should be glad to escape from servitude to them." Accordingly the Arcadians and the Argives, upon hearing these words, gladly presented themselves to support him. Then he immediately called the people together in the market-place in the presence of the Argives and the Arcadians, announcing that the government was to be on terms of full equality. When they had come together, he bade them choose whomsoever they saw fit as generals; and they chose Euphron himself, Hippodamus, Cleander, Acrisius, and Lysander. When this had been done, he also appointed Adeas, his own son, to the command of the mercenary troops, removing Lysimenes, their former commander. And straightway Euphron made some of these mercenaries faithful to him by treating them generously, and took others into his pay, sparing neither the public nor the sacred funds. He likewise availed himself of the property of all those whom he banished for favouring the Lacedaemonians.

μασιν ἐχρήτο. καὶ τῶν συναρχόντων δὲ τοὺς μὲν δόλῳ ἀπέκτεινε, τοὺς δ' ἐξέβαλεν· ὥστε πάντα ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ ἐποιήσατο καὶ σαφῶς τύραννος ἦν. ὅπως δὲ ταῦτα ἐπιτρέποιεν αὐτῷ οἱ σύμμαχοι, τὰ μὲν τι καὶ χρήμασι διεπράττετο, τὰ δὲ καί, εἴ που στρατεύοιντο, προθύμως ἔχων τὸ ξενικὸν συνηκολούθει.

II. Οὕτω δὲ τούτων προκεχωρηκότων, καὶ τῶν τε Ἀργείων ἐπιτετειχικότων τῷ Φλειούντι τὸ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἡραίου Τρικάρανον, καὶ τῶν Σικυωνίων ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁρίοις αὐτῶν τειχιζόντων τὴν Θυαμίαν, μάλα ἐπιέζοντο οἱ Φλειάσιοι καὶ ἐσπάνιζον τῶν ἐπιτηδείων· ὅμως δὲ διεκαρτέρουν ἐν τῇ συμμαχίᾳ. ἀλλὰ γὰρ τῶν μὲν μεγάλων πόλεων, εἴ τι καλὸν ἔπραξαν, ἅπαντες οἱ συγγραφεῖς μέμνηνται· ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ, καὶ εἴ τις μικρὰ πόλιν οὕσα πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ ἔργα διαπέπρακται, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἄξιον 2 εἶναι ἀποφαίνειν. Φλειάσιοι τοίνυν φίλοι μὲν ἐγένοντο Λακεδαιμονίοις, ὅτ' ἐκεῖνοι μέγιστοι ἦσαν· σφαλέντων δ' αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ ἐν Λεύκτροις μάχῃ, καὶ ἀποστάντων μὲν πολλῶν περιοίκων, ἀποστάντων δὲ πάντων τῶν Εἰλώτων, ἔτι δὲ τῶν συμμάχων πλὴν πάνυ ὀλίγων, ἐπιστρατεύοντων δ' αὐτοῖς ὡς εἰπεῖν πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων, πιστοὶ διέμειναν, καὶ ἔχοντες πολεμίους τοὺς δυνατωτάτους τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ Ἀρκάδας καὶ Ἀργεῖους ὅμως ἐβοήθησαν αὐτοῖς, καὶ διαβαίνειν τελευταῖοι λαχόντες εἰς Πρασιάς τῶν συμβοηθησάντων, ἦσαν

Furthermore, he treacherously put to death some 367 B.C. of his fellow-officials and banished others, so that he brought everything under his control and was manifestly a tyrant. And he managed to induce his allies to permit these proceedings of his, partly by the use of money, and partly by following with them zealously at the head of his mercenary force wherever they made an expedition.

II. When these matters had progressed to this 366 B.C. point and the Argives had fortified Mount Tricaranum, above the Heraeum, as a base of attack upon Phlius, while the Sicyonians were fortifying Thyamia on its borders, the Phliasians were exceedingly hard pressed and suffered from lack of provisions; nevertheless, they remained steadfast in their alliance. But I will speak further of them; for while all the historians make mention of the large states if they have performed any noble achievement, it seems to me that if a state which is small has accomplished many noble deeds, it is even more fitting to set them forth. Now the Phliasians had become friends of the Lacedaemonians at a time when they were greatest; and when they had been defeated in the battle at Leuctra, when many of the Perioeci had revolted from them and all the Helots also had revolted, and likewise their allies with the exception of a very few, and when all the Greeks, one might say, were in the field against them, the Phliasians remained steadfastly faithful, and, though they had as enemies the most powerful of the peoples in Peloponnesus—the Arcadians and Argives—nevertheless went to 370 B.C. their assistance. Furthermore, when it fell to their lot to cross over to Prasiae last of those who joined in the expedition (and these were the Corinthians,

- δ' οὗτοι Κορίνθιοι, Ἐπιδαύριοι, Τροιζήνιοι, Ἐρ-
 3 μιονεῖς, Ἀλιεῖς, Σικυνώνιοι καὶ Πελληνεῖς· οὐ
 γάρ πω τότε ἀφέστασαν—οὐδ' ¹ ἐπεὶ ὁ ξεναγὸς
 τοὺς προδιαβεβῶτας λαβὼν ἀπολιπὼν αὐτοὺς
 ᾤχετο, οὐδ' ὥς ἀπεστρέφησαν, ἀλλ' ἡγεμόνα
 μισθωσάμενοι ἐκ Πρασιῶν, ὄντων τῶν πολεμίων
 περὶ Ἀμύνκλας, ὅπως ἐδύναντο διαδύντες εἰς
 Σπάρτην ἀφίκοντο. καὶ μὴν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι
 ἄλλως τε ἐτίμων αὐτοὺς καὶ βούν ξένια ἔπεμψαν.
 4 ἐπεὶ δ' ἀναχωρησάντων τῶν πολεμίων ἐκ τῆς
 Λακεδαιμόνος οἱ Ἀργεῖοι ὀργιζόμενοι τῇ τῶν
 Φλειασίων περὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους προθυμία
 ἐνέβαλον πανδημεὶ εἰς τὸν Φλειοῦντα καὶ τὴν
 χώραν αὐτῶν ἐδήουν, οὐδ' ὥς ὑφίεντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 ἐπεὶ ἀπεχώρουν φθείραντες ὅσα ἐδύναντο, ἐπεξελ-
 θόντες οἱ τῶν Φλειασίων ἱππεῖς ἐπηκολούθουν
 αὐτοῖς, καὶ ὀπισθοφυλακούντων τοῖς Ἀργείοις
 τῶν ἱππέων ἀπάντων καὶ λόχων τῶν μετ' αὐτοὺς
 τεταγμένων, ἐπιθέμενοι τούτοις ἐξήκοντα ὄντες
 ἐτρέψαντο πάντας τοὺς ὀπισθοφυλάκας· καὶ
 ἀπέκτειναν μὲν ὀλίγους αὐτῶν, τροπαῖον μέντοι
 ἐστήσαντο ὀρώντων τῶν Ἀργείων οὐδὲν διαφέρον
 ἢ εἰ πάντας ἀπεκτόνεσαν αὐτούς.
 5 Αὐθις δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι
 ἐφρούρουν τὸ Ὀνειον, Θηβαῖοι δὲ προσῆσαν ὥς
 ὑπερβησόμενοι. πορευομένων δὲ διὰ Νεμέας τῶν
 Ἀρκαδίων καὶ Ἡλείων, ὅπως συμμείξαιεν τοῖς
 Θηβαίοις, προσήνεγκαν μὲν λόγον τῶν Φλειασίων
 φυγάδες ὥς εἰ ἐβελήσειαν ἐπιφανῆναι μόνον σφίσι,

¹ Before οὐδ' the MSS. have ἀλλ' : Kel. brackets, following Hartman.

Epidaurians, Troezenians, Hermionians, Halians, 370 B.C.
 Sicyonians, and Pelleneans—for at that time the last mentioned had not yet revolted from the Lacedaemonians), even when the Lacedaemonian leader went off with those who had crossed first and left the Phliasians, even so they did not turn back, but hired a guide from Prasiae, and, although the enemy were in the neighbourhood of Amyclae, slipped through as best they could and reached Sparta. And the Lacedaemonians, besides honouring them in other ways, sent them an ox as a gift of hospitality. Again, when the enemy had retired from Lacedaemon, 369 B.C. and the Argives, in anger at the devotion of the Phliasians toward the Lacedaemonians, had invaded the territory of Phlius in full force and were laying waste their land, even then they did not yield; but when the Argives were withdrawing, after having destroyed as much as they could, the horsemen of the Phliasians sallied forth and followed after them, and, although all the Argive horsemen and the companies posted behind them were employed to guard their rear, the Phliasians nevertheless, who were but sixty in number, attacked these troops and turned to flight the entire rear-guard; to be sure they killed but few of them, yet they set up a trophy, with the Argives looking on, precisely as if they had killed them all.

Once again, the Lacedaemonians and their allies were guarding Oneum, and the Thebans were approaching with the intention of crossing over the mountain. At this time, as the Arcadians and Eleans were marching through Nemea in order to effect a junction with the Thebans, exiles of the Phliasians made them an offer that if they would only put in

λάβοιεν ἂν Φλειοῦντα· ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα συνωμολο-
 γήθη, τῆς νυκτὸς ὑπεκαθίζοντο ὑπ' αὐτῷ τῇ
 τείχει κλίμακας ἔχοντες οἳ τε φυγάδες καὶ ἄλλοι
 μετ' αὐτῶν ὥς ἑξακόσιοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἳ μὲν σκοποὶ
 ἐσήμαινον ἀπὸ τοῦ Τρικαράνου ὥς πολεμίων
 ἐπιόντων, ἡ δὲ πόλις πρὸς τούτους τὸν νοῦν εἶχεν,
 ἐν δὴ τούτῳ οἳ προδιδόντες ἐσήμαινον τοῖς ὑπο-
 6 καθημένοις ἀναβαίνειν. οἳ δ' ἀναβάντες καὶ
 λαβόντες τῶν φρουρῶν τὰ ὄπλα ἔρημα, ἐδίωκον
 τοὺς ἡμεροφύλακας ὄντας δέκα· ἀφ' ἐκάστης δὲ
 τῆς πεμπάδος εἰς ἡμεροφύλαξ κατελείπετο· καὶ
 ἓνα μὲν ἔτι καθεύδοντα ἀπέκτειναν, ἄλλον δὲ
 καταφυγόντα πρὸς τὸ Ἡραῖον. φυγῇ δ' ἐξαλ-
 λομένων κατὰ τοῦ τείχους τοῦ εἰς τὸ ἄστυ ὄρων-
 τος τῶν ἡμεροφυλάκων, ἀναμφισβητήτως εἶχον
 7 οἳ ἀναβάντες τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ κραυγῆς
 εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀφικομένης ἐβοήθουν οἳ πολῖται, τὸ
 μὲν πρῶτον ἐπεξελθόντες ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως οἳ
 πολέμιοι ἐμάχοντο ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν τῶν εἰς τὴν
 πόλιν φερουσῶν πυλῶν· ἔπειτα πολιορκούμενοι
 ὑπὸ τῶν προσβοηθούντων ἐχώρουν πάλιν πρὸς
 τὴν ἀκρόπολιν· οἳ δὲ πολῖται συνεισπίπτουσιν
 αὐτοῖς. τὸ μὲν οὖν μέσον τῆς ἀκροπόλεως εὐθύς
 ἔρημον ἐγένετο· ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ τεῖχος καὶ τοὺς πύργους
 ἀναβάντες οἳ πολέμιοι ἔπαιον καὶ ἔβαλλον τοὺς
 ἔνδον. οἳ δὲ χαμόθεν ἡμύνοντο καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἐπὶ
 8 τὸ τεῖχος φερούσας κλίμακας προσεμάχοντο. ἐπεὶ
 δὲ τῶν ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν πύργων ἐκράτησάν τινων

an appearance to help their party, they would capture 369 A.C.
 Phlius; and when this plan had been agreed upon, during the night the exiles and others with them, about six hundred in number, set themselves in ambush close under the wall with scaling ladders. Then as soon as the watchmen signalled from Tricarantum that enemies were approaching, and the city was giving its attention to these last, at this moment those who sought to betray the city signalled to the people in ambush to climb up. When they had climbed up and found the posts of the guards weakly manned, they pursued the day-guards, who numbered ten (for one out of each squad of five was regularly left behind as a day-guard); and they killed one while he was still asleep and another after he had fled for refuge to the Heraeum. And since the other day-guards in their flight leaped down from the wall on the side looking toward the city, the men who had climbed up were in undisputed possession of the Acropolis. But when an outcry reached the city and the citizens came to the rescue, at first the enemy issued forth from the Acropolis and fought in the space in front of the gates which lead to the city; afterwards, being beset on all sides by those who came against them, they withdrew again to the Acropolis; and the citizens poured in with them. Now the space within the Acropolis was cleared at once, but the enemy mounted upon the wall and the towers and showered blows and missiles upon the people who were within. Meanwhile the latter defended themselves from the ground and attacked the enemy by the steps which led up to the wall. When, however, the citizens gained possession of some of the towers on this side and on that, they

οἱ πολῖται, ὁμόσε δὴ ἐχώρουν ἀπονενοημένως τοῖς ἀναβεβηκόσιν. οἱ δὲ ὠθούμενοι ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῇ τόλμῃ τε καὶ μάχῃ εἰς ἑλαττον συνειλοῦντο. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ οἱ μὲν Ἀρκάδες καὶ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκυκλοῦντο, καὶ κατὰ κεφαλὴν τὸ τεῖχος τῆς ἀκροπόλεως διώρυττον· τῶν δ' ἔνδοθεν οἱ μὲν τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους, οἱ δὲ τοὺς ἔξωθεν ἔτι ἀναβαίνοντας, ἐπὶ ταῖς κλίμαξιν ὄντας, ἔπαιον, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἀναβεβηκότας αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς πύργους ἐμάχοντο, καὶ πῦρ εὐρόντες ἐν ταῖς σκηναῖς ὑφῆπτον αὐτούς, προσφοροῦντες τῶν δραγμάτων ἃ ἔτυχον ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς ἀκροπόλεως τεθερισμένα. ἐνταῦθα δὴ οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων τὴν φλόγα φοβούμενοι ἐξήλλonton, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν παιόμενοι ἐξέπιπτον.

9 ἐπεὶ δ' ἅπαξ ἤρξαντο ὑπέικειν, ταχὺ δὴ πᾶσα ἡ ἀκρόπολις ἔρημος τῶν πολεμίων ἐγεγένητο. εὐθύς δὲ καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς ἐξήλαυνον· οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ἰδόντες αὐτοὺς ἀπεχώρουν, καταλιπόντες τὰς τε κλίμακας καὶ τοὺς νεκρούς, ἐνίοις δὲ καὶ ζῶντας ἀποκεχωλευμένους. ἀπέθανον δὲ τῶν πολεμίων οἳ τε ἔνδον μαχομένοι καὶ οἱ ἔξω ἀλλόμενοι οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν ὀγδοήκοντα. ἐνθα δὴ θεάσασθαι παρῆν ἐπὶ τῆς σωτηρίας τοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας δεξιουμένους ἀλλήλους, τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας πιεῖν τε φερούσας καὶ

¹ The wall of the Acropolis on one side made part of the city wall, while on the other side it separated the Acropolis from the lower city. The Arcadians and Argives are

closed in desperate battle with those who had 869 A.C.
 mounted upon their walls. And the enemy, as they
 were forced back by them—by their courage as well
 as by their fighting—were being crowded together
 into an ever smaller space. At this critical moment
 the Arcadians and Argives were circling around the
 city and beginning to dig through the wall of the
 Acropolis from its upper side;¹ and as for the citizens
 within, some were dealing blows upon the people
 on the wall, others upon those who were still climb-
 ing up from the outside and were on the ladders,
 and still others were fighting against those among
 the enemy who had mounted upon the towers; they
 also found fire in the tents and began to set the
 towers ablaze from below, bringing up some sheaves
 which chanced to have been harvested on the Acro-
 polis itself. Then the people upon the towers, in
 fear of the flames, jumped off one after another, while
 those upon the walls, under the blows of their human
 adversaries, kept falling off. And when they had
 once begun to give way, speedily the whole Acropolis
 had become bare of the enemy. Thereupon the
 horsemen straightway sallied forth from the city;
 and the enemy upon seeing them retired, leaving
 behind their ladders, their dead, and likewise some
 of the living who had been badly lamed. And the
 number of the enemy who were killed, both in the
 fighting within and by leaping down without, was
 not less than eighty. Then one might have beheld
 the men congratulating one another with handclasps
 on their preservation, and the women bringing them

manifestly attacking the first mentioned, i.e. outer, part of
 the wall of the Acropolis; but the precise meaning of *κατὰ
 κεφαλὴν* is uncertain.

ἅμα χαρᾷ δακρνούσας. πάντας δὲ τοὺς παρόντας τότε γε τῷ ὄντι κλαυσίγελως εἶχεν.

10 Ἐνέβαλον δὲ καὶ τῷ ὑστέρω ἔτει εἰς τὸν Φλειοῦντα οἱ τε Ἀργεῖοι καὶ οἱ Ἀρκάδες ἅπαντες. αἴτιον δ' ἦν τοῦ ἐπικεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς ἀεὶ τοῖς Φλειασίοις ὅτι ἅμα μὲν ὠργίζοντο αὐτοῖς, ἅμα δὲ ἐν μέσῳ εἶχον, καὶ ἐν ἐλπίδι ἦσαν ἀεὶ διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων παραστήσεσθαι αὐτούς. οἱ δ' ἰππεῖς καὶ οἱ ἐπίλεκτοι τῶν Φλειασίων καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἐμβολῇ ἐπὶ τῇ διαβάσει τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπιτίθενται σὺν τοῖς παροῦσι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἰππεῦσι· καὶ κρατήσαντες ἐποίησαν τοὺς πολεμίους τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας ὑπὸ τὰς ἀκρωρείας ὑποχωρεῖν, ὥσπερ ἀπὸ φιλίου καρποῦ τοῦ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ φυλαττομένους μὴ καταπατήσειαν.

11 Αὐθις δέ ποτε ἐστράτευσεν εἰς τὸν Φλειοῦντα ὁ ἐν τῷ Σικυῶνι ἄρχων Θηβαῖος, ἄγων οὓς τε αὐτὸς εἶχε φρουροὺς καὶ Σικυωνίους καὶ Πελληνέας· ἤδη γὰρ τότε ἠκολούθουν τοῖς Θηβαίοις· καὶ Εὐφρων δὲ τοὺς αὐτοῦ ἔχων μισθοφόρους περὶ δισχιλίους συνεστρατεύετο. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι αὐτῶν διὰ τοῦ Τρικαράνου κατέβαινον ἐπὶ τὸ Ἡραῖον, ὥς τὸ πεδῖον φθεροῦντες· κατὰ δὲ τὰς εἰς Κόρινθον φερούσας πύλας ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄκρου κατέλιπε Σικυωνίους τε καὶ Πελληνέας, ὅπως μὴ ταύτῃ περιελθόντες οἱ Φλειάσιοι κατὰ κεφαλὴν
12 αὐτῶν γένοιεντο ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἡραίου. ὥς δ' ἔγνωσαν

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drink and at the same time crying for joy. Indeed, 869 B.C.
 "laughter mingled with tears"¹ did on that occasion
 really possess all who were present.

In the following year likewise the Argives and all 868 B.C.
 the Arcadians invaded the territory of Phlius. The
 reason for their continually besetting the Phliasians
 was partly that they were angry with them, and partly
 that they had the country of the Phliasians between
 them, and were always in hope that through want
 of provisions they would bring them to terms. But
 on this invasion also the horsemen and the picked
 troops of the Phliasians, along with the horsemen
 of the Athenians who were present, attacked them
 at the crossing of the river; and having won the
 victory, they made the enemy retire under the
 heights for the rest of the day, just as if they were
 keeping carefully away from the corn in the plain
 as the property of friends, so as not to trample it
 down.

On another occasion the Theban governor at Sicyon 866 B.C.
 marched upon Phlius at the head of the garrison
 which he had under his own command, and of the
 Sicyonians and Pelleneans—for at that time they
 were already following the Thebans; and Euphron
 also took part in the expedition with his mercenaries,
 about two thousand in number. Now the main body
 of the troops descended along Tricaranum toward
 the Heraeum with the intention of laying waste
 the plain; but the commander left the Sicyonians
 and Pelleneans behind upon the height over against
 the gates leading to Corinth, so that the Phliasians
 should not go around by that way and get above his
 men at the Heraeum. When, however, the people

¹ An allusion to *Iliad* vi. 484.

- οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπὶ τὸ πεδίον ὠρμημένους, ἀντεξελθόντες οἳ τε ἵππεῖς καὶ οἱ ἐπίλεκτοι τῶν Φλειασίων ἐμάχοντο καὶ οὐκ ἀνίσταντο εἰς τὸ πεδῖον αὐτούς. καὶ τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον τῆς ἡμέρας ἐνταῦθα ἀκροβολιζόμενοι διῆγον, οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Εὐφρονα ἐπιδιώκοντες μέχρι τοῦ ἵππασίμου, οἱ δὲ ἔνδοθεν μέχρι τοῦ Ἡραίου.
- 13 ἐπεὶ δὲ καιρὸς ἐδόκει εἶναι, ἀπῆσαν οἱ πολέμοι κύκλῳ τοῦ Τρικάρανου· ὥστε γὰρ τὴν σύντομον πρὸς τοὺς Πελληneas ἀφικέσθαι ἢ πρὸ τοῦ τείχους φάραγξ εἶργε. μικρὸν δ' αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὸ ὄρθιον προπέμψαντες οἱ Φλειάσιοι ἀποτρεπόμενοι ἴεντο τὴν παρὰ τὸ τεῖχος ἐπὶ τοὺς Πελληneas καὶ
- 14 τοὺς μετ' αὐτῶν. καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν Θηβαῖον δὲ αἰσθόμενοι τὴν σπουδὴν τῶν Φλειασίων ἡμιλλῶντο ὅπως φθάσειαν τοῖς Πελληνεῦσι βοηθήσαντες. ἀφικόμενοι δὲ πρότεροι οἱ ἵππεῖς ἐμβάλλουσι τοῖς Πελληνεῦσι. δεξαμένων δὲ τὸ πρῶτον, ἐπαναχωρήσαντες πάλιν σὺν τοῖς παραγεγεννημένοις τῶν πεζῶν ἐνέβαλον καὶ ἐκ χειρὸς ἐμάχοντο. καὶ ἐκ τούτου δὴ ἐγκλίνουσιν οἱ πολέμοι, καὶ ἀποθυήσκουσι τῶν τε Σικωνίων τινὲς καὶ τῶν Πελληνέων μάλα πολλοὶ καὶ ἄνδρες
- 15 ἀγαθοί. τούτων δὲ γενομένων οἱ μὲν Φλειάσιοι τροπαῖον ἵσταντο λαμπρὸν παιανίζοντες, ὥσπερ εἰκός· οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Θηβαῖον καὶ τὸν Εὐφρονα περιέωρων ταῦτα, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ θεῶν παραδεδραμηκότες. τούτων δὲ πραχθέντων, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ Σικωνῶνος ἀπῆλθον, οἱ δ' εἰς τὸ ἄστυ ἀπεχώρησαν.

in the city perceived that the enemy had set out 866 a.c.
 for the plain, the horsemen and the picked troops
 of the Phliasians sallied forth against them, gave
 battle, and did not allow them to make their way
 to the plain. And they spent most of the day
 there in fighting at long range, the troops of
 Euphron pursuing up to the point where the country
 was suited for cavalry, and the men from the city as
 far as the Heraeum. When, however, it seemed to
 be the proper time, the enemy retired by a circuitous
 route over Tricaranum, for the ravine in front of the
 wall prevented them from reaching the Pelleneans
 by the direct way. Then the Phliasians, after follow-
 ing them a little way up the hill, turned back and
 charged along the road which leads past the wall,
 against the Pelleneans and those with them. And
 the troops of the Theban general, upon perceiving the
 haste of the Phliasians, began racing with them in
 order to reach the Pelleneans first and give them
 aid. The horsemen, however, arrived first, and at-
 tacked the Pelleneans. And when at the outset they
 withstood the attack, the Phliasians fell back, but
 then attacked again in company with such of the foot-
 soldiers as had come up, and fought hand-to-hand.
 At this the enemy gave way, and some of the
 Sicyonians fell and very many of the Pelleneans, and
 brave men, too. When these things had taken place
 the Phliasians set up a trophy, sounding their paeon
 loudly, as was natural; and the troops of the Theban
 general and Euphron allowed all this to go on, just
 as if they had made their race to see a spectacle.
 Then, after these proceedings were finished, the one
 party departed for Sicyon and the other returned to
 the city.

- 16 Καλὸν δὲ καὶ τοῦτο διεπράξαντο οἱ Φλειάσιοι τὸν γὰρ Πελληνέα Πρόξενον¹ ζῶντα λαβόντες, καίπερ πάντων σπανιζόμενοι, ἀφῆκαν ἄνευ λυτρῶν. γενναίους μὲν δὴ καὶ ἀλκίμους πῶς οὐκ ἂν τις φαίη εἶναι τοὺς τοιαῦτα διαπραττομένους;
- 17 "Ὡς γε μὴν καὶ διὰ καρτερίας τὴν πίστιν τοῖς φίλοις διέσωζον περιφανές· οἱ ἐπεὶ εἵργοντο τῶν ἐκ τῆς γῆς καρπῶν, ἔζων τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς πολεμίας λαμβάνοντες, τὰ δὲ ἐκ Κορίνθου ὠνούμενοι, διὰ πολλῶν κινδύνων ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἰόντες, χαλεπῶς μὲν τιμὴν πορίζοντες, χαλεπῶς δὲ τοὺς κομίζοντας διαπορεύοντες, γλίσχρως δ' ἐγγυητὰς
- 18 καθιστάντες τῶν ἀξόντων ὑποζυγίων. ἤδη δὲ παντάπασιν ἀποροῦντες Χάρητα διεπράξαντο σφίσι παραπέμψαι τὴν παραπομπήν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν Φλειοῦντι ἐγένετο, ἐδεήθησαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἀχρείους συνεκπέμψαι εἰς τὴν Πελλήνην. κακείνους μὲν ἐκεῖ κατέλιπον, ἀγοράσαντες δὲ καὶ ἐπισκευασάμενοι ὅποσα ἐδύναντο ὑποζύγια νυκτὸς ἀπῆσαν, οὐκ ἀγνοοῦντες ὅτι ἐνεδρεύουσιντο ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, ἀλλὰ νομίζοντες χαλεπώτερον
- 19 εἶναι τοῦ μάχεσθαι τὸ μὴ ἔχειν τὰπιτήδεια. καὶ προῆσαν μὲν οἱ Φλειάσιοι μετὰ Χάρητος· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐνέτυχον τοῖς πολεμίοις, εὐθὺς ἔργου τε εἶχοντο καὶ παρακελευσάμενοι ἀλλήλοις ἐνέκειντο, καὶ

¹ Πρόξενον Schneider : πρόξενον Kel. with MSS.

Another noble deed which the Phliasians performed 366 B.C
 was this: when they had made a prisoner of Proxenus, the Pellenean, even though they were in want of everything, they let him go without a ransom. How could one help saying that men who performed such deeds were noble and valiant?

Furthermore, that it was only by stout endurance that they maintained their fidelity to their friends is clearly manifest; for when they were shut off from the products of their land, they lived partly by what they could get from the enemy's territory, and partly by buying from Corinth; they went to the market through the midst of many dangers, with difficulty provided the price of supplies, with difficulty brought through the enemy's lines the people who fetched these supplies, and were hard put to it to find men who would guarantee the safety of the beasts of burden which were to convey them. At length, when they were in desperate straits, they arranged that Chares¹ should escort their supply train. Upon his arrival at Phlius they begged him to help them also to convoy their non-combatants to Pellene.² Accordingly they left these people at Pellene, and after making their purchases and packing as many beasts of burden as they could, they set off during the night, not unaware that they would be ambushed by the enemy, but thinking that to be without provisions was a more grievous thing than fighting. Now the Phliasians, together with Chares, went on ahead, and when they came upon the enemy they immediately set to work, and, cheering one another on, pressed their attack, while at the same time

¹ An Athenian general.

² Since the events described in §§ 11-16 above Pellene had rejoined the Lacedaemonian alliance.

ἄμα Χάρητα ἐπιβοηθεῖν ἐβόων. νίκης δὲ γενομένης καὶ ἐκβληθέντων ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῶν πολεμίων, οὕτω δὴ οἴκαδε καὶ ἑαυτοὺς καὶ ἃ ἦγον ἀπέσωσαν.

Ὡς δὲ τὴν νύκτα ἡγρύπνησαν, ἐκάθειδον μέχρι
 20 πόρρω τῆς ἡμέρας. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνέστη ὁ Χάρης, προσελθόντες οἱ τε ἱππεῖς καὶ οἱ χρησιμώτατοι τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἔλεγον· ὦ Χάρης, ἔξεστί σοι τήμερον κάλλιστον ἔργον διαπράξασθαι. χωρίον γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄροις ἡμῖν οἱ Σικυώνιοι τειχίζουσιν, οἰκοδόμους μὲν πολλοὺς ἔχοντες, ὀπλίτας δὲ οὐ πάνυ πολλούς. ἡγησόμεθα μὲν οὖν ἡμεῖς οἱ ἱππεῖς καὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν οἱ ἔρρωμενέστατοι· σὺ δὲ τὸ ξενικὸν ἔχων ἐὰν ἀκολουθῆς, ἴσως μὲν διαπεπραγμένα σοι καταλήψῃ, ἴσως δὲ ἐπιφανεῖς σὺ ῥοπήν, ὥσπερ ἐν Πελλήνῃ, ποιήσεις. εἰ δέ τι δυσχερές σοι ἐστὶν ὧν λέγομεν, ἀνακοίνωσαι τοῖς θεοῖς θυόμενος· οἴομεθα γὰρ ἔτι σε μᾶλλον ἡμῶν τοὺς θεοὺς ταῦτα πράττειν κελεύσειν. τοῦτο δὲ χρή, ὦ Χάρης, εὖ εἰδέναι, ὅτι ἐὰν ταῦτα πράξῃς, τοῖς μὲν πολεμίοις ἐπιτετειχικῶς ἔσει, φιλίαν δὲ πόλιν διασεσωκῶς, εὐκλεέστατος δὲ ἐν τῇ πατρίδι ἔσει, ὀνομαστότατος δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς
 21 συμμάχοις καὶ πολεμίοις. ὁ μὲν δὴ Χάρης πεισθεὶς ἐθύετο, τῶν δὲ Φλειασίων εὐθύς οἱ μὲν ἱππεῖς τοὺς θώρακας ἐνεδύοντο καὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἐχαλίνουν, οἱ δὲ ὀπλίται ὅσα εἰς πεζὸν παρεσκευάζοντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀναλαβόντες τὰ ὄπλα ἐπορεύ-

they shouted to Chares to come to their aid. And 286 n.c
 when victory had been achieved and the enemy
 driven out of the road, in this wise they brought
 home in safety both themselves and the supplies
 they were conveying.

Now inasmuch as the Phliasians had passed the night without sleep, they slept until far on in the day. But when Chares arose, the horsemen and the best of the hoplites came to him and said: "Chares, it is within your power to-day to accomplish a splendid deed. For the Sicyonians are fortifying a place upon our borders,¹ and they have many builders but not very many hoplites. Now therefore we, the horsemen and the stoutest of the hoplites, will lead the way; and if you will follow us with your mercenary force, perhaps you will find the business already settled for you, and perhaps your appearance will turn the scale, as happened at Pellene. But if anything in what we propose is unacceptable to you, consult the gods by sacrifices; for we think that the gods will bid you do this even more urgently than we do. And this, Chares, you should well understand, that if you accomplish these things you will have secured a stronghold as a base of attack upon the enemy and have preserved a friendly city, and you will win the fairest of fame in your fatherland and be most renowned among both allies and enemies." Chares accordingly was persuaded and offered sacrifice, while on the Phliasian side the horsemen straightway put on their breastplates and bridled their horses, and the hoplites made all the preparations necessary for infantry. When they had taken up their arms and were proceeding to the place

¹ *cp.* § 1.

οντο ἔνθα ἐθύετο, ἀπήντα αὐτοῖς ὁ Χάρης καὶ ὁ μάντις, καὶ ἔλεγον ὅτι καλὰ τὰ ἱερά. Ἀλλὰ περιμένετε, ἔφασαν· ἤδη γὰρ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἔξιμεν. ὥς δὲ τάχιστα ἐκηρύχθη, θεία τινὶ προθυμία καὶ 22 οἱ μισθοφόροι ταχὺ ἐξέδραμον. ἐπεὶ δὲ Χάρης ἤρξατο πορεύεσθαι, προῆσαν αὐτοῦ οἱ τῶν Φλειασίων ἱππεῖς καὶ πεζοί· καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ταχέως ἡγοῦντο, ἔπειτα δὲ ἐτρόχαζον· τέλος δὲ οἱ μὲν ἱππεῖς κατὰ κράτος ἤλαυνον, οἱ δὲ πεζοὶ κατὰ κράτος ἔθεον ὥς δυνατὸν ἐν τάξει, οἷς καὶ ἡ Χάρης σπουδῇ ἐπηκολούθει. ἦν μὲν οὖν τῆς ὥρας μικρὸν πρὸ δύντος ἡλίου· κατελάμβανον δὲ τοὺς ἐν τῷ τείχει πολεμίους τοὺς μὲν λουομένους, τοὺς δ' ὀψοποιουμένους, τοὺς δὲ φυρῶντας, 23 τοὺς δὲ στιβάδας ποικυμένους. ὥς δ' εἶδον τὴν σφοδρότητα τῆς ἐφόδου, εὐθὺς ἐκπλαγέντες ἔφυγον, καταλιπόντες τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσι πάντα τὰπιτήδεια. κακεῖνοι μὲν ταῦτα δειπνήσαντες καὶ οἴκοθεν ἄλλα ἐλθόντα, ὥς ἐπ' εὐτυχία σπείσαντες καὶ παιανίσαντες καὶ φυλακὰς καταστησάμενοι, κατέδαρθον. οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι, ἀφικομένου τῆς νυκτὸς ἀγγέλου περὶ τῆς Θουαμίας, μάλα φιλικῶς κηρύξαντες τὰ ζεύγη καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια πάντα καὶ σίτου γεμίσαντες εἰς τὸν Φλειοῦντα παρήγαγον· καὶ ἕως περ ἐτειχίζετο τὸ τεῖχος, ἐκάστης ἡμέρας παραπομπὰ ἐγίγνοντο.

III. Περὶ μὲν δὴ Φλειασίων, ὥς καὶ πιστοὶ τοῖς φίλοις ἐγένοντο καὶ ἄλκιμοι ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ 278

where he was sacrificing, Chares and the seer met 366 B.C. them and said that the sacrifices were favourable. "Wait for us," they said, "for we, too, will set forth at once." And as soon as word had been given by the herald, Chares' mercenaries also speedily rushed out with a kind of heaven-sent eagerness. Now when Chares had begun to march, the cavalry and infantry of the Phliasians went on ahead of him; and at first they led the way rapidly, and then they began to run; finally, the horsemen were riding at the top of their speed and the foot-soldiers were running as fast as it is possible for men in line to go, while after them came Chares, following in haste. The time was a little before sunset, and they found the enemy at the fortress, some bathing, some cooking, some kneading, and some making their beds. Now so soon as the enemy saw the vehemence of the onset they straightway fled in terror, leaving all their provisions behind for these brave men. The latter accordingly made their dinner off these provisions and more which came from home, and after pouring libations in honour of their good fortune, singing a paean, and posting guards, they went to sleep. And the Corinthians, after news had reached them during the night in regard to Thyamia, in a most friendly way ordered out by proclamation all their teams and pack-animals, loaded them with corn, and convoyed them to Phlius; and so long as the fortifications were building,¹ convoys continued to be sent out every day.

III. The story of the Phliasians, then, how they proved themselves faithful to their friends and continued valiant in the war, and how, though in want

¹ Now by the Phliasians.

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- διετέλεσαν, καὶ ὥς πάντων σπανίζοντες διέμενοι ἐν τῇ συμμαχίᾳ, εἴρηται. σχεδὸν δὲ περὶ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Αἰνέας Στυμφάλιος, στρατηγὸς τῶν Ἀρκάδων γεγεννημένος, νομίσας οὐκ ἀνεκτῶς ἔχειν τὰ ἐν τῷ Σικυῶνι, ἀναβὰς σὺν τῷ ἑαυτοῦ στρατεύματι εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν συγκαλεῖ τῶν Σικυωνίων τῶν τε ἔνδον ὄντων τοὺς κρατίστους καὶ τοὺς ἄνευ δόγματος ἐκπεπτωκότας μετεπέμπετο.
- 2 φοβηθεῖς δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Εὐφρων καταφεύγει εἰς τὸν λιμένα τῶν Σικυωνίων, καὶ μεταπεμψάμενος Πασίμηλον ἐκ Κορίνθου, διὰ τούτου παραδίδωσι τὸν λιμένα τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ αὐτῇ συμμαχίᾳ ἀνεστρέφετο, λέγων ὥς Λακεδαιμονίοις διατελοίῃ πιστὸς ὢν. ὅτε γὰρ ψῆφος ἐδίδото ἐν τῇ πόλει, εἰ δοκοίῃ ἀφίστασθαι, μετ'
- 3 ὀλίγων ἀποψηφίσασθαι ἔφη· ἔπειτα δὲ τοὺς προδόντας ἑαυτὸν βουλόμενος τιμωρήσασθαι δῆμον καταστήσαι. Καὶ νῦν, ἔφη, φεύγουσιν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πάντες οἱ ὑμᾶς προδιδόντες. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐδυνάσθην ἐγώ, ὅλην ἂν ἔχων τὴν πόλιν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀπέστην. νῦν δ' οὐ ἐγκρατὴς ἐγενόμην τὸν λιμένα παραδέδωκα ὑμῖν. ἡκροῶντο μὲν δὴ πολλοὶ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα· ὁπόσοι δὲ ἐπείθοντο οὐ πᾶνν κατάδηλον.
- 4 Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐπέειπερ ἡρξάμην, διατελέσαι βούλομαι τὰ περὶ Εὐφρονος. στασιασάντων γὰρ ἐν τῷ Σικυῶνι τῶν τε βελτίστων καὶ τοῦ δῆμου, λαβὼν ὁ Εὐφρων Ἀθήνηθεν ξενικὸν πάλιν κατέρχεται. καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἄστεως ἐκράτει σὺν τῷ δήμῳ·

of everything, they remained steadfast in their alliance, has been told. At about this time Aeneas the Stymphalian, who had become general of the Arcadians, thinking that conditions in Sicyon were not to be endured, went up to the Acropolis with his own army, called together the aristocrats among the Sicyonians who were in the city, and sent after those who had been exiled therefrom without a decree of the people. And Euphron, seized with fear at these proceedings, fled for refuge to the port of the Sicyonians, and after summoning Pasimelus to come from Corinth, through him handed over the port to the Lacedaemonians and appeared once more in their alliance, saying that he had all the time remained faithful to the Lacedaemonians. For he said that at the time when a vote was taken in the city as to whether the Sicyonians should decide to revolt from them, he, with a few others, voted against it; and that afterwards he had set up a democracy out of his desire to avenge himself on those who had betrayed him. "And at this moment," he said, "all who were traitors to you are in exile by my act. Now if I had found myself able, I should have gone over to you with the entire city. As it is, I have given over to you the port, over which alone I had gained control." Those who heard him say these words were many, but how many believed him is by no means clear.

However, since I have begun it, I desire to finish the story of Euphron. When the aristocrats and the commons at Sicyon had fallen into strife, Euphron obtained a force of mercenaries from Athens and came back again. And with the help of the commons

Θηβαίου δὲ ἄρμοστοῦ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἔχοντος, ἐπεὶ ἔγνω οὐκ ἂν δυνάμενος τῶν Θηβαίων ἐχόντων τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τῆς πόλεως κρατεῖν, συσκευασάμενος χρήματα ὥχετο, ὥς τούτοις πείσων Θηβαίους ἐκβάλλειν μὲν τοὺς κρατίστους, παρα-
 5 δοῦναι δ' αὐτῷ πάλιν τὴν πόλιν. αἰσθόμενοι δὲ οἱ πρόσθεν φυγάδες τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν, ἀντεπορεύοντο εἰς τὰς Θήβας. ὥς δ' ἐώρων αὐτὸν οἰκείως τοῖς ἄρχουσι συνόντα, φοβηθέντες μὴ διαπράξαιτο ἃ βούλεται, παρεκινδύνευσάν τινες καὶ ἀποσφάττουσιν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει τὸν Εὐφρονα, τῶν τε ἀρχόντων καὶ τῆς βουλῆς συγκαθημένων. οἱ μέντοι ἄρχοντες τοὺς ποιήσαντας εἰσήγαγον εἰς τὴν βουλήν, καὶ ἔλεγον τάδε.

8 Ὡς ἄνδρες πολῖται, ἡμεῖς τουτουσὶ τοὺς ἀποκτείναντας Εὐφρονα διώκομεν περὶ θανάτου, ὀρώντες ὅτι οἱ μὲν σώφρονες οὐδὲν δήπου ἄδικον οὐδὲ ἀνόσιον ποιοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ πονηροὶ ποιοῦσι μὲν, λανθάνειν δὲ πειρῶνται, οὗτοι δὲ τοσοῦτον πάντα ἀνθρώπους ὑπερβεβλήκασι τόλμῃ τε καὶ μιαρία ὥστε παρ' αὐτάς τε τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ παρ' αὐτοὺς ὑμᾶς τοὺς κυρίους οὔστινας δεῖ ἀποθνήσκειν καὶ οὔστινας μὴ, αὐτογνωμονήσαντες ἀπέκτειναν τὸν ἄνδρα. εἰ οὖν οὗτοι μὴ δώσουσι τὴν ἐσχάτην δίκην, τίς ποτε πρὸς τὴν πόλιν θαρρῶν πορεύσεται; τί δὲ πείσεται ἡ πόλις, εἰ ἐξέσται τῷ βουλομένῳ ἀποκτεῖναι πρὶν δηλῶσαι ὅτου ἔνεκα ἔχει ἕκαστος; ἡμεῖς μὲν δὴ τούτους διώκομεν ὥς

he was master of the town; a Theban governor, 806 B.C. however, held the Acropolis, and since Euphron realized that with the Thebans holding the Acropolis he could not possibly be master of the state, he got together money and set out with the intention of persuading the Thebans, by means of this money, to banish the aristocrats and give the state over to him again. When, however, the former exiles learned of his journey and his plans, they likewise proceeded to Thebes. And as they saw him in familiar association with the Theban officials, they were seized with fear that he might accomplish what he wanted, and some of them took the risk and slew Euphron upon the Acropolis while the officials and the senate were in session there. But the officials brought those who had done the deed before the senate and spoke as follows :

" Fellow citizens, we arraign on the capital charge these men who have slain Euphron, seeing, as we do, that while right-minded men commit no unjust or unrighteous deed, and the wicked, although they commit them, strive to do them in secret, these persons have so far surpassed all mankind in hardihood and villainy that in the presence of the very magistrates and in the presence of you, who alone have authority to decide who shall die and who shall not, they took decision into their own hands and slew the man. Therefore if these men do not suffer the extreme penalty, who will ever have the courage to visit our city? And what will become of the city if any one who so desires is to be allowed to slay a man before he has made known for what purpose he has come here? We, then, arraign these men

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ἀνοσιωτάτους καὶ ἀδικωτάτους καὶ ἀνομωτάτους καὶ πλείστον δὴ ὑπεριδόντας τῆς πόλεως. ὑμεῖς δὲ ἀκηκοότες, ὁποίας τινὸς ὑμῖν δοκοῦσιν ἄξιοι εἶναι δίκης, ταύτην αὐτοῖς ἐπίθετε.

- 7 Οἱ μὲν ἄρχοντες τοιαῦτα εἶπον· τῶν δὲ ἀποκτεινάντων οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἡρνοῦντο μὴ αὐτόχειρες γεγενῆσθαι· εἰς δὲ ὠμολογῇκει, καὶ τῆς ἀπολογίας ὧδέ πως ἤρχετο. Ἄλλ' ὑπερορᾶν μὲν, ὦ Θηβαῖοι, οὐ δυνατὸν ὑμῶν ἀνδρὶ ὃς εἰδείη κυρίους μὲν¹ ὄντας ὃ τι βούλεσθε αὐτῷ χρῆσθαι· τίμι μὴν πιστεύων ἐνθάδε ἀπέκτεινα τὸν ἄνδρα; εὖ ἴστε ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν τῷ νομίζειν δίκαιον ποιεῖν, ἔπειτα δὲ τῷ ὑμᾶς ὀρθῶς γνῶσεσθαι· ἥδειν γὰρ ὅτι καὶ ὑμεῖς τοὺς περὶ Ἀρχίαν καὶ Ὑπάτην, οὓς ἐλάβετε ὅμοια Εὐφρόνι πεποιηκότας, οὐ ψῆφον ἀνεμείνατε, ἀλλὰ ὁπότε πρῶτον ἐδυνάσθητε ἐτιμωρήσασθε, νομίζοντες τῶν τε περιφανῶς ἀνοσίων καὶ τῶν φανερώς προδοτῶν καὶ τυραννεῖν ἐπιχειρούντων ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων θάνατον κατεγνώσθαι.
- 8 οὐκ οὐν καὶ Εὐφρών παῖσι τούτοις ἔνοχος ἦν; παραλαβὼν μὲν γὰρ τὰ ἱερὰ μεστὰ καὶ ἀργυρῶν καὶ χρυσῶν ἀναθημάτων κενὰ πάντων τούτων ἀπέδειξε. προδότης γε μὴν τίς ἂν περιφανέστερος Εὐφρόνος εἴη, ὃς φιλαίτατος μὲν ὢν Λακεδαιμονίοις ὑμᾶς αὐτ' ἐκείνων εἴλετο· πιστὰ δὲ δοὺς καὶ λαβὼν παρ' ὑμῶν πάλιν προύδωκεν ὑμᾶς καὶ παρέδωκε τοῖς ἐναντίοις τὸν λιμένα; καὶ μὴν πῶς οὐκ ἀπροφασίστως τύραννος ἦν, ὃς δού-

¹ μὲν MSS. : Kel. brackets.

as utterly unrighteous, unjust, and lawless, and as 366 B.C.
 having shown the utmost contempt for our city. It
 is for you, after you have heard, to inflict upon them
 such penalty as they seem to you to deserve."

Such were the words of the officials; as for those
 who had slain Euphron, all except one denied that
 they had been the perpetrators of the deed; but one
 had admitted it, and began his defence in some such
 words as these: "Surely, Thebans, to feel contempt
 for you is not possible for a man if he knows that you
 have authority to do with him as you will; in what,
 then, did I trust when I here slew the man? Be
 well assured that it was first of all in the belief that
 I was doing a just deed, and secondly in the thought
 that you would decide rightly; for I knew that you
 likewise, in dealing with the party of Archias and
 Hypates,¹ whom you found to have performed acts
 like those of Euphron, did not wait for a vote, but
 punished them as soon as you found yourselves able
 to do so, believing that those who are manifestly
 unrighteous and those who are plainly traitors and
 attempting to be tyrants are already condemned to
 death by all mankind. Was not Euphron also, I
 ask, guilty under all these heads? In the first
 place, he found the shrines full of offerings both
 of silver and of gold, and left them empty of all
 these treasures. Again, who could be more mani-
 festly a traitor than Euphron, who was the closest
 of friends to the Lacedaemonians and then chose
 you in their stead, and after he had given you
 pledges and received pledges from you, betrayed
 you again and handed over the port to your adver-
 saries? Once again, was he not beyond question

¹ See v. iv. 2-12.

λους μὲν οὐ μόνον ἐλευθέρους ἀλλὰ καὶ πολίτας
ἐποίει, ἀπεκτίνυνε δὲ καὶ ἐφυγάδευε καὶ χρήματα
ἀφηρεῖτο οὐ τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας, ἀλλ' οὓς αὐτῷ
9 ἐδόκει; οὗτοι δὲ ἦσαν οἱ βέλτιστοι. αὐθις δὲ
μετὰ τῶν ἐναντιωτάτων ὑμῖν Ἀθηναίων κατελθὼν
εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐναντία μὲν ἔθετο τὰ ὄπλα τῷ παρ'
ὑμῶν ἀρμοστῇ· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκείνον οὐκ ἐδυνάσθη ἐκ
τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἐκβαλεῖν, συσκευασάμενος χρή-
ματα δεῦρο ἀφίκετο. καὶ εἰ μὲν ὄπλα ἡθροικῶς
ἐφάνη ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, καὶ χάριν ἄν μοι εἵχετε, εἰ ἀπέ-
κτεινα αὐτόν· ὃς δὲ χρήματα ἦλθε παρασκευασά-
μενος, ὥς τούτοις ὑμᾶς διαφθερῶν καὶ πείσων
πάλιν κύριον αὐτὸν ποιῆσαι τῆς πόλεως, τούτῳ
ἐγὼ τὴν δίκην ἐπιθεῖς πῶς ἂν δικαίως ὑφ' ὑμῶν
ἀποθάνοιμι; καὶ γὰρ οἱ μὲν ὄπλοις βιασθέντες
βλάπτονται μὲν, οὐ μέντοι ἄδικοί γε ἀναφαί-
νονται· οἱ δὲ χρήμασι παρὰ τὸ βέλτιστον διαφθα-
ρέντες ἅμα μὲν βλάπτονται, ἅμα δὲ αἰσχύνῃ
10 περιπίπτουσιν. εἰ μὲν τοίνυν ἐμοὶ μὲν πολέμιος
ἦν, ὑμῖν δὲ φίλος, καὶ γὰρ ὁμολογῶ μὴ καλῶς ἂν
μοι ἔχειν παρ' ὑμῖν τοῦτον ἀποκτεῖναι· ὁ δὲ ὑμᾶς
προδιδούς τί ἐμοὶ πολεμιώτερος ἦν ἢ ὑμῖν; Ἀλλὰ
νὴ Δία, εἴποι ἂν τις, ἐκὼν ἦλθε. καὶ τα εἰ μὲν
ἀπεχόμενον τῆς ὑμετέρας¹ πόλεως ἀπέκτεινέ τις
αὐτόν, ἐπαίνου ἂν ἐτύγχανε· νῦν δὲ ὅτε πάλιν
ἦλθεν ἄλλα πρὸς τοῖς πρόσθεν κακὰ ποιήσων, οὐ

¹ ὑμετέρας CV: ἡμετέρας FMD, followed by Kel.

a tyrant, when he made slaves not only free men 866 n.c.
 but even citizens, and put to death and banished and
 robbed of property, not the people who were guilty
 of wrong-doing, but those whom it suited him to
 treat thus? And these were the better classes.
 Then after he had returned again to the city in
 company with your bitter adversaries, the Athenians,
 he set himself in arms against your governor; but
 since he found himself unable to expel him from the
 Acropolis, he got together money and came hither.
 Now if he had been shown to have gathered armed
 forces with which to attack you, you would even
 feel grateful to me for slaying him; but when he
 provided himself with money instead, and came with
 the purpose of corrupting you by means of this
 money and persuading you to make him lord of
 the city again, how can I justly be put to death
 by you for inflicting upon the man his due punish-
 ment? For whereas those who are constrained by
 arms suffer damage, yet they are not thereby shown
 to be wicked at any rate; but those who are
 corrupted by money in violation of the right not
 only suffer damage, but at the same time incur
 shame. To be sure, if he had been an enemy of
 mine but a friend of yours, I admit myself that it
 would not have been seemly for me to slay this man
 in your city; but wherein was he, who was a traitor
 to you, more of an enemy to me than to you? 'But,
 by Zeus,' someone might say, 'he came of his own
 free will.' So, then, if anyone had slain him while
 he was keeping away from your city, he would have
 obtained praise; but as it is, when he came again to
 do you more wrong in addition to what he had done
 before, does one say that he has not been slain

δικαίως φησί τις αὐτὸν τεθνάναι; ποῦ ἔχων
 "Ἑλλησι σπονδὰς ἀποδείξαι ἢ προδόταις ἢ παλιν-
 11 αυτομόλοις ἢ τυράννοις;¹ πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἀνα-
 μνήσθητε ὅτι καὶ ἐψηφίσασθε δήπου τοὺς φυγά-
 δας ἀγωγίμους εἶναι ἐκ πασῶν τῶν συμμαχίδων.
 ὅστις δὲ ἄνευ κοινοῦ τῶν συμμάχων δόγματος
 κατέρχεται φυγάς, τοῦτον ἔχοι τις ἂν εἰπεῖν ὅπως
 οὐ δίκαιόν ἐστιν ἀποθνήσκειν; ἐγὼ φημι, ὦ
 ἄνδρες, ἀποκτείναντας μὲν ὑμᾶς ἐμὲ τετιμωρη-
 κότας ἔσεσθαι ἀνδρὶ τῷ πάντων ὑμῖν πολεμιο-
 τάτῳ, γνόντας δὲ δίκαια πεποιηκέναι αὐτοὺς
 τετιμωρηκότας φανείσθαι ὑπὲρ τε ὑμῶν αὐτῶν
 καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν συμμάχων ἀπάντων.

12 Οἱ μὲν οὖν Θηβαῖοι ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες ἔγνωσαν
 δίκαια τὸν Εὐφρονα πεπονθέναι· οἱ μέντοι πολί-
 ται αὐτοῦ ὥς ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν κομισάμενοι ἔθαψάν
 τε ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ ὥς ἀρχηγέτην τῆς πόλεως
 σέβονται. οὕτως, ὥς ἔοικεν, οἱ πλείστοι ὀρί-
 ζονται τοὺς εὐεργέτας ἑαυτῶν ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς
 εἶναι.²

IV. Καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Εὐφρονος εἴρηται· ἐγὼ δὲ
 ἔνθεν εἰς ταῦτα ἐξέβην ἐπάνειμι. ἔτι γὰρ τειχι-
 ζόντων τῶν Φλειασίων τὴν Θυαμίαν καὶ τοῦ
 Χάρητος ἔτι παρόντος Ὀρωπὸς ὑπὸ τῶν φευγόν-
 των κατελήφθη.³ στρατευσαμένων δὲ πάντων
 Ἀθηναίων ἐπ' αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν Χάρητα μεταπεμ-
 ψαμένων ἐκ τῆς Θυαμίας, ὁ μὲν λιμὴν αὐτὸς τῶν
 Σικυωνίων πάλιν ὑπ' αὐτῶν τε τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ

¹ ποῦ . . . τυράννοις as in the MSS.: Kel. inserts the clause
 after ἦλθε above.

² οὕτως . . . εἶναι MSS.: Kel. brackets, following Nauck.

³ κατελήφθη: Kel. marks a lacuna after this word.

justly? Where can such a one show that a truce 366 n.o. exists between Greeks and traitors, or double-deserters, or tyrants? Besides all this, remember also that you voted, and properly, that exiles should be subject to extradition from all the cities of the alliance. But as for an exile who returns without a general resolution of the allies, can anyone explain why it is unjust for such a one to be put to death? I maintain, gentlemen, that if you put me to death, you will have avenged a man who was the worst of all your enemies, but if you decide that I have done what was right, you will be found to have taken vengeance both for your own selves and for all the allies."

The Thebans, after hearing these words, decided that Euphron had met his deserts; his own citizens, however, esteeming him a good man, brought him home, buried him in their market-place, and pay him pious honours as the founder of their city. So true it is, as it seems, that most people define as good men their own benefactors.

IV. The story of Euphron has been told, and I return to the point¹ from which I digressed to this subject. While, namely, the Phliasians were still fortifying Thyamia and Chares was still with them, Oropus was seized by those who had been exiled therefrom. When, however, the Athenians had set out in full force against the city and had summoned Chares from Thyamia, the port of the Sicyonians in its turn was recaptured by the citizens of Sicyon

¹ ii. 23

τῶν Ἀρκάδων ἀλίσκεται τοῖς δ' Ἀθηναίοις οὐδείς τῶν συμμάχων ἐβοήθησεν, ἀλλ' ἀνεχώρησαν Θηβαίοις παρακαταθέμενοι τὸν Ὠρωπὸν μέχρι δίκης.

- 2 Καταμαθὼν δὲ ὁ Λυκομήδης μεμφομένους τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τοῖς συμμάχοις, ὅτι αὐτοὶ μὲν πολλὰ πράγματα εἶχον δι' ἐκείνους, ἀντεβοήθησε δ' αὐτοῖς οὐδείς, πείθει τοὺς μυρίους πράττειν περὶ συμμαχίας πρὸς αὐτούς. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ἐδυσχέραινόν τινες τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸ Λακεδαιμονίοις ὄντας φίλους γενέσθαι τοῖς ἐναντίοις αὐτῶν συμμάχους· ἐπειδὴ δὲ λογιζόμενοι ἡῦρισκον οὐδὲν μείον Λακεδαιμονίοις ἢ σφίσιν ἀγαθὸν τὸ Ἀρκάδας μὴ προσδεῖσθαι Θηβαίων, οὕτω δὲ
- 3 προσεδέχοντο τὴν τῶν Ἀρκάδων συμμαχίαν. καὶ Λυκομήδης ταῦτα πράττων, ἀπιὼν Ἀθήνηθεν δαιμονιώτατα ἀποθνήσκει. ὄντων γὰρ παμπόλων πλοίων, ἐκλεξάμενος τούτων ὁ ἐβούλετο, καὶ συνθέμενος τοῖς ναύταις ἀποβιβάσαι ὅποι αὐτὸς κελεύει, εἴλετο ἐνταῦθα ἐκβῆναι ἔνθα οἱ φυγάδες ἐτύγχανον ὄντες. κακείνος μὲν οὕτως ἀποθνήσκει, ἡ μέντοι συμμαχία ὄντως ἐπεραίνετο.
- 4 Εἰπόντος δὲ Δημοτίωνος ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὥς ἡ μὲν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀρκάδας φιλία καλῶς αὐτῷ δοκοίη πράττεσθαι, τοῖς μέντοι στρατηγοῖς προστάξαι ἔφη χρῆναι ὅπως καὶ Κόρινθος σῶα ἦ

themselves and the Arcadians; as for the Athenians, none of their allies came to their assistance, and they retired and left Oropus in the possession of the Thebans pending a judicial decision. 366 B.C.

And now Lycomedes, upon learning that the Athenians were finding fault with their allies because, while they were themselves suffering many troubles on their account, none gave them any assistance in return, persuaded the Ten Thousand¹ to negotiate for an alliance with the Athenians. At first, indeed, some of the Athenians took it ill that, when they were friends of the Lacedaemonians, they should become allies of their adversaries; but when upon consideration they found that it was no less advantageous to the Lacedaemonians than to themselves that the Arcadians should not require the support of the Thebans, under these circumstances they accepted the alliance with the Arcadians. While Lycomedes was engaged in these negotiations, upon his departure from Athens he met his death by what was quite manifestly a divine interposition. For there were very many ships available and he selected from them the one he wanted and made an agreement with the sailors to land him wherever he should himself direct; and he chose to land at the very spot where the Arcadian exiles chanced to be. He, then, met his death in this way, but the alliance was really accomplished.

Meantime Demotion said in the Assembly of the Athenians that while it seemed to him a good thing to be negotiating this friendship with the Arcadians, they ought, he said, to give instructions to their generals to see to it that Corinth also should be kept

¹ *cp.* i. 33.

τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων· ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ
 Κορίνθιοι, ταχὺ πέμψαντες ἱκανοὺς φρουροὺς
 ἐαυτῶν πάντοσε ὅπου Ἀθηναῖοι ἐφρούρουν εἶπαν
 αὐτοῖς ἀπιέναι, ὥς οὐδὲν ἔτι δεόμενοι φρουρῶν.
 οἱ δ' ἐπείθοντο. ὥς δὲ συνῆλθον οἱ ἐκ τῶν φρου-
 ρίων Ἀθηναῖοι εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἐκήρυξαν οἱ Κορίν-
 θιοι, εἴ τις ἀδικοῖτο Ἀθηναίων, ἀπογράφεσθαι,
 5 ὥς ληψομένους τὰ δίκαια. οὕτω δὲ τούτων ἐχόν-
 των Χάρης ἀφικνεῖται μετὰ ναυτικοῦ πρὸς Κεγ-
 χρείας. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔγνω τὰ πεπραγμένα, ἔλεξεν ὅτι
 ἀκούσας ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι τῇ πόλει βοηθῶν παρείη.
 οἱ δ' ἐπαινέσαντες αὐτὸν οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον ἐδέχοντο
 τὰς ναῦς εἰς τὸν λιμένα, ἀλλ' ἀποπλεῖν ἐκέλευον·
 καὶ τοὺς ὀπλίτας δὲ τὰ δίκαια ποιήσαντες ἀπέ-
 πεμψαν. ἐκ μὲν οὖν τῆς Κορίνθου οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι
 6 οὕτως ἀπηλλάγησαν. τοῖς μέντοι Ἀρκάσι πέμ-
 πειν ἡναγκάζοντο τοὺς ἱππέας ἐπικούρους διὰ τὴν
 συμμαχίαν, εἴ τις στρατεύοιτο ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν·
 τῆς δὲ Λακωνικῆς οὐκ ἐπέβαινον ἐπὶ πολέμῳ.

Τοῖς δὲ Κορινθίοις ἐνθυμουμένοις ὥς χαλεπῶς
 ἔχοι αὐτοὺς σωθῆναι, κρατουμένους μὲν καὶ πρό-
 σθεν κατὰ γῆν, προσγεγεννημένων δὲ αὐτοῖς Ἀθη-
 ναίων ἀνεπιτηδείων, ἔδοξεν ἀθροίζειν καὶ πεζοὺς
 καὶ ἱππέας μισθοφόρους. ἡγούμενοι δὲ τούτων,
 ἅμα μὲν τὴν πόλιν ἐφύλαττον, ἅμα δὲ πολλὰ τοὺς
 πλησίον πολεμίους κακῶς ἐποιοῦν· εἰς μέντοι

safe for the Athenian people; and on hearing of this the Corinthians speedily sent adequate garrisons of their own to every place where Athenians were on guard and told the latter to depart, saying that they no longer had any need of garrisons. The men accordingly obeyed. And as soon as the Athenians had come together from their guard-stations to the city of Corinth, the Corinthians made proclamation that if any of the Athenians had been wronged, they were to register their names, in the assurance that they would receive their just dues. While these matters were in this state, Chares arrived at Cenchreae with a fleet. And when he learned what had been done, he said that he had heard there was plotting against the state and had come to give aid. The Corinthians, however, while they thanked him, were none the more disposed to admit his ships into their harbour, but bade him sail away; and they likewise sent away the hoplites after rendering them their just dues. It was in this way, then, that the Athenians departed from Corinth. On the other hand, they were bound by the terms of their alliance to send their cavalry to the aid of the Arcadians in case anyone took the field against Arcadia; but they did not set foot upon Laconia for the purpose of war.

And now the Corinthians, in the thought that it would be difficult for them to come off safe, since even before this time they had been overmastered by land and now the Athenians had been added to the number of those who were unfriendly to them, resolved to collect mercenaries, both infantry and cavalry. Once in command of these troops, they not only guarded their city but likewise inflicted much harm upon their enemies near home; but to

- Θήβας ἔπεμψαν ἐπερησομένους εἰ τύχοιεν ἂν
 7 ἔλθόντες εἰρήνης. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἰέναι ἐκέ-
 λευον, ὥς ἐσομένης, ἐδεήθησαν οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἑᾶσαι
 σφᾶς ἔλθειν καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς συμμάχους, ὥς μετὰ
 μὲν τῶν βουλομένων ποιησόμενοι τὴν εἰρήνην,
 τοὺς δὲ πόλεμον αἰρουμένους ἑάσουντες πολεμεῖν.
 ἐφέντων δὲ καὶ ταῦτα πράττειν τῶν Θηβαίων,
 ἔλθόντες εἰς Λακεδαίμονα οἱ Κορίνθιοι εἶπον·
 8 Ἡμεῖς, ὦ ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, πρὸς ὑμᾶς πά-
 ρεσμεν ὑμέτεροι φίλοι, καὶ ἀξιούμεν, εἰ μὲν τινα
 ὁρᾶτε σωτηρίαν ἡμῖν, εἰὰν διακαρτερῶμεν πολε-
 μοῦντες, διδάξαι καὶ ἡμᾶς· εἰ δὲ ἀπόρως γιγνώ-
 σκετε ἔχοντα τὰ ἡμέτερα, εἰ μὲν καὶ ὑμῖν συμφέρει,
 ποιήσασθαι μεθ' ἡμῶν τὴν εἰρήνην· ὥς οὐδὲ μετ'
 οὐδένων ἂν ἡδιον ἢ μεθ' ὑμῶν σωθείημεν· εἰ μὲν-
 τοι ὑμεῖς λογιζέσθε συμφέρειν ὑμῖν πολεμεῖν,
 δεόμεθα ὑμῶν ἑᾶσαι ἡμᾶς εἰρήνην ποιήσασθαι.
 σωθέντες μὲν γὰρ ἴσως ἂν αὖθις ἔτι ποτὲ ἐν καιρῷ
 ὑμῖν γενοίμεθα· εἰὰν δὲ νῦν ἀπολώμεθα, δῆλον ὅτι
 οὐδέποτε χρήσιμοι ἔτι ἐσόμεθα.
 9 Ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοῖς
 τε Κορινθίοις συνεβούλευον τὴν εἰρήνην ποιή-
 σασθαι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων ἐπέτρεψαν
 τοῖς μὴ βουλομένοις σὺν ἑαυτοῖς πολεμεῖν ἀνα-
 παύεσθαι· αὐτοὶ δ' ἔφασαν πολεμοῦντες πρά-
 ξειν ὅ τι ἂν τῷ θεῷ φίλον ᾖ· ὑφήσεσθαι δὲ
 οὐδέποτε, ἣν παρὰ τῶν πατέρων παρέλαβον
 10 Μεσσήνην, ταύτης στερηθῆναι. οἱ οὖν Κορίν-
 θιοι ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα ἐπορεύοντο εἰς τὰς Θήβας

Thebes they sent messengers to ask whether they could obtain peace if they came for it. And when the Thebans bade them come, saying that peace would be granted, the Corinthians requested that they should allow them to go to their allies also, to the end that they might conclude the peace in company with those who desired peace, and leave those who preferred war to continue war. The Thebans having permitted them to do this likewise, the Corinthians went to Lacedaemon and said: "Men of Lacedaemon, we have come to you as your friends, and we ask that in case you see any safety for us if we persist in the war, you make it known to us; but in case you judge our situation to be hopeless, that you join with us in concluding peace if it is to your advantage also; for there is no one in the world along with whom we should more gladly gain safety than with you; if, however, you consider that it is to your advantage to continue the war, we beg you to allow us to conclude peace. For if we are saved, we might perhaps make ourselves useful to you again at some future time; whereas if we are now destroyed, it is plain that we shall never be of service in the future."

Upon hearing these words the Lacedaemonians not only advised the Corinthians to conclude the peace, but gave permission to such of their other allies as preferred not to continue the war in company with them, to cease; as for themselves, however, they said that they would fight on and accept whatever fortune it pleased the deity to send, and that they would never submit to be deprived of what they had received from their fathers—Messene. So the Corinthians, upon hearing these words, proceeded to

- ἐπὶ τὴν εἰρήνην. οἱ μέντοι Θηβαῖοι ἠξίουσαν αὐ-
 τοὺς· καὶ συμμαχίαν ὀμνύναι· οἱ δὲ ἀπεκρίναντο
 ὅτι ἡ μὲν συμμαχία οὐκ εἰρήνη, ἀλλὰ πολέ-
 μον μεταλλαγὴ εἶη· εἰ δὲ βούλοιντο, παρεῖναι
 ἔφασαν τὴν δικαίαν εἰρήνην ποιησόμενοι. ἀγα-
 σθέντες δὲ αὐτοὺς οἱ Θηβαῖοι, ὅτι καίπερ ἐν κιν-
 δύνῳ ὄντες οὐκ ἠθελον τοῖς εὐεργέταις εἰς πόλεμον
 καθίστασθαι, συνεχώρησαν αὐτοῖς καὶ Φλειασίοις
 καὶ τοῖς ἐλθοῦσι μετ' αὐτῶν εἰς Θήβας τὴν εἰρή-
 νην ἐφ' ᾧτε ἔχειν τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐκάστους. καὶ ἐπὶ
 11 τούτοις ὠμόσθησαν οἱ ὅρκοι. οἱ μὲν δὲ Φλειά-
 σιοι, ἐπεὶ οὕτως ἡ ξύμβασις ἐγένετο, εὐθύς ἀπῆλ-
 θον ἐκ τῆς Θυαμίας· οἱ δὲ Ἀργεῖοι ὁμόσαντες ἐπὶ
 τοῖς αὐτοῖς τούτοις εἰρήνην ποιήσασθαι,¹ ἐπεὶ οὐκ
 ἐδύναντο καταπρᾶξαι ὥστε τοὺς τῶν Φλειασίων
 φυγάδας μένειν ἐν τῷ Τρικάρανῳ ὡς ἐν τῇ ἑαυτῶν
 πόλει ἔχοντας, παραλαβόντες ἐφρούρουν, φά-
 σκοντες σφετέραν τὴν γῆν ταύτην εἶναι, ἣν ὀλίγῳ
 πρότερον ὡς πολεμίαν οὖσαν ἐδήουν· καὶ δίκας
 τῶν Φλειασίων προκαλουμένων οὐκ ἐδίδοσαν.
 12 Σχεδὸν δὲ περὶ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τετελευτη-
 κότες ἤδη τοῦ πρόσθεν Διονυσίου ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ
 πέμπει βοήθειαν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις δώδεκα
 τριήρεις καὶ ἄρχοντα αὐτῶν Τιμοκράτην. οὗτος
 δ' οὖν ἀφικόμενος συνεξαιρεῖ αὐτοῖς Σελλασίαν·
 καὶ τοῦτο πράξας ἀπέπλευσεν οἴκαδε.
 Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον καταλαμ-
 βάνουσιν οἱ Ἡλεῖοι Λασιῶνα, τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν
 ἐαυτῶν ὄντα, ἐν δὲ τῷ παρόντι συντελοῦντα εἰς
 13 τὸ Ἀρκαδικόν. οἱ μέντοι Ἀρκάδες οὐ παρωλιγώ-

¹ ποιήσασθαι MSS.: ποιήσεσθαι Kel.

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Thebes to make the peace. The Thebans, however, 366 B.C. wanted them to bind themselves to an alliance as well; but they replied that an alliance was not peace but an exchange of war, and they said that they had come to conclude a real peace, if the Thebans so pleased. And the Thebans, seized with admiration for them because, even though they were in peril, they refused to be involved in war with their benefactors, granted peace to them, to the Phliasians, and to those who had come with them to Thebes, with the condition that each party should keep its own territory. And on these terms the oaths were taken. Then the Phliasians, inasmuch as the compact had been concluded on this basis, at once withdrew from Thyamia; but the Argives, who had sworn to make peace on these same terms, when they found themselves unable to bring it about that the Phliasian exiles should remain at Tricaranum on the ground that they would be within their own state, took over the place and kept it garrisoned, claiming now that this territory, which a little while before they had been laying waste as though it were an enemy's, was theirs; and although the Phliasians proposed a judicial decision, they refused to grant the request.

At about this time, the first Dionysius being now dead, his son sent to the aid of the Lacedaemonians twelve triremes and Timocrates as their commander. And upon his arrival he helped them to capture Sellasia; and after accomplishing this deed he sailed back home.

Not long after this the Eleans seized Lasion, 365 B.C. which in ancient times had been theirs, but at present belonged to the Arcadian League. The Arcadians, however, did not let the matter pass, but at once

ρησαν, ἄλλ' εὐθὺς παραγγείλαντες ἐβοήθουν. ἀντεβοήθησαν δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἡλείων οἱ τριακόσιοι, καὶ ἔτι τετρακόσιοι. ἀντεστρατοπεδευμένων δὲ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν ἐπιπεδεστέρῳ χωρίῳ τῶν Ἡλείων τῆς νυκτὸς οἱ Ἀρκάδες ἀναβαίνουνσιν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἡλείων ὄρους κορυφὴν· ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ κατέβαινον ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἡλείους. οἱ δὲ ἰδόντες ἅμα μὲν ἐξ ὑπερδεξίου προσιόντας, ἅμα δὲ πολλαπλασίους, ἐκ πολλοῦ μὲν ἀπελθεῖν ἤσχυνθησαν, ὁμόσε δ' ἦλθον καὶ εἰς χεῖρας δεξάμενοι ἔφυγον· καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας, πολλὰ δὲ ὄπλα ἀπώλεσαν, κατὰ δυσχωρίας ἀποχωροῦντες.

- 14 Οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες διαπραξάμενοι ταῦτα ἐπορεύοντο ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν Ἀκρωρείων πόλεις. λαβόντες δὲ ταύτας πλὴν Θραύστου ἀφικνοῦνται εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν, καὶ περισταυρώσαντες τὸ Κρόνιον ἐνταῦθα ἐφρούρουν καὶ ἐκράτουν τοῦ Ὀλυμπιακοῦ ὄρους· ἔλαβον δὲ καὶ Μαργανέας ἐνδόντων τινῶν. οὕτω δὲ προκεχωρηκότων οἱ μὲν Ἡλείοι αὐτὰ παντάπασιν ἠθύμηναν, οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες ἔρχονται ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν. καὶ μέχρι μὲν τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἦλθον· ἐκεῖ μέντοι ὑποστάντες οἳ τε ἵππεῖς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι αὐτῶν ἐκβάλλουσιν τε αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀπέκτεινάν τινες καὶ
- 15 τροπαῖον ἐστήσαντο. ἦν μὲν οὖν καὶ πρότεροι διαφορὰ ἐν τῇ Ἡλιδι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ περὶ Χάροπόν

called out their troops and went to the rescue. And on the side of the Eleans the Three Hundred and likewise the Four Hundred¹ came out to meet them. Now after the Eleans had lain encamped on a somewhat level spot opposite the enemy throughout the day, the Arcadians climbed up by night to the summit of the mountain which was above the Eleans; and at daybreak they proceeded to descend upon the Eleans. Then the latter, seeing that the Arcadians were not only approaching from higher ground but were also many times their number, were yet ashamed to retreat while still at a distance, but advanced to meet the enemy, and took to flight only after letting them come to close quarters; and they lost many men and many arms, since they retreated over difficult ground.

When the Arcadians had accomplished these things, they proceeded against the cities of the Acrorians. And having captured them, with the exception of Thraustus, they arrived at Olympia, and after building a stockade around the hill of Cronus, kept guard there and were masters of the Olympian mountain; they likewise gained possession of Margana, which was betrayed to them by some of its citizens. When matters had progressed to this point, the Eleans fell back into complete despondency, while the Arcadians proceeded against their capital. And they advanced as far as the market-place; there, however, the horsemen and the rest of the Eleans made a stand, and they drove the Arcadians out, killed some of them, and set up a trophy. Now there had been dissension in Elis even before this time. For the party of Charopus, Thrasonidas;

¹ Apparently two bodies of picked troops.

τε καὶ Θρασωνίδαυ καὶ Ἀργεῖον εἰς δημοκρατίαν ἤγον τὴν πόλιν, οἱ δὲ περὶ Εὐάλλκαν τε καὶ Ἰππίαν καὶ Στρατόλαν εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν. ἐπεὶ δ' οἱ Ἀρκάδες μεγάλην δύναμιν ἔχοντες σύμμαχοι ἐδόκουν εἶναι τοῖς δημοκρατεῖσθαι βουλομένοις, ἐκ τούτου δὴ θρασύτεροι οἱ περὶ τὸν Χάροπον ἦσαν, καὶ συνθέμενοι τοῖς Ἀρκάσιν ἐπιβοηθεῖν καταλαμ-
 16 βάνουσι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. οἱ δ' ἱππεῖς καὶ οἱ τριακόσιοι οὐκ ἐμέλλησαν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἐχώρουν ἄνω, καὶ ἐκκρούουσιν αὐτούς· ὥστ' ἔφυγον σὺν τῷ Ἀργεῖῳ καὶ Χαρόπῳ τῶν πολιτῶν περὶ τετρακοσίους.

Οὐ πολὺ δ' ὕστερον οὗτοι παραλαβόντες τῶν Ἀρκάδων τινὰς καταλαμβάνουσι Πύλον. καὶ πολλοὶ μέντοι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀπῆσαν τοῦ δήμου, ἅτε χωρίον τε καλὸν καὶ μεγάλην ῥώμην τὴν τῶν Ἀρκάδων σύμμαχον ἔχοντας. ἐνέβαλον δὲ καὶ ὕστερον εἰς τὴν χώραν τὴν τῶν Ἡλείων οἱ Ἀρκάδες, ὑπὸ τῶν φευγόντων
 17 ἀναπειθόμενοι ὥς ἡ πόλις προσχωρήσοιτο. ἀλλὰ τότε μὲν οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ φίλοι γεγεννημένοι τοῖς Ἡλείοις τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν διεφύλαξαν· ὥστε οἱ Ἀρκάδες οὐδὲν ἄλλο πράξαντες ἢ δηώσαντες αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν ἀπῆλθον. εὐθὺς μέντοι ἐκ τῆς Ἡλείας ἐξιόντες, αἰσθόμενοι τοὺς Πελληνεὰς ἐν Ἡλιδι ὄντας, νυκτὸς μακροτάτην ὁδὸν ἐλθόντες καταλαμβάνουσιν αὐτῶν Ὀλουρον· ἤδη γὰρ πάλιν προσεκεχωρήκεσαν οἱ Πελληνεῖς εἰς τὴν τῶν
 18 Λακεδαιμονίων συμμαχίαν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἦσθοντο τὰ

and Argeius were trying to convert the state into a democracy, and the party of Eualcas, Hippias, and Stratolas into an oligarchy. But when the Arcadians with a large force seemed to be allies of those who wished to have a democracy, thereupon the party of Charopus were bolder, and after making arrangements with the Arcadians to aid them, seized the Acropolis. The horsemen, however, and the Three Hundred made no delay, but at once marched up and ejected them, so that about four hundred of the citizens, with Argeius and Charopus, were banished. 365 B.C.

Not long afterwards these exiles enlisted the aid of some of the Arcadians and seized Pylus. And many of the democrats withdrew from the capital and joined them, inasmuch as they were in possession of a good stronghold and had a large force—that of the Arcadians—to support them. Afterwards the Arcadians invaded the territory of the Eleans again, being persuaded by the exiles that the city would come over to them. But on that occasion the Achaeans, who had become friends of the Eleans, defended their city successfully, so that the Arcadians retired without accomplishing anything more than the laying waste of the land of the Eleans. At the moment, however, when they were departing from the Elean territory, they learned that the Pelleneans were in Elis, and after making an exceedingly long march by night seized their town of Olurus; for by this time the Pelleneans had come back again to their alliance with the Lacedaemonians.¹ Now when the Pelleneans learned the news in regard to

¹ See ii. 11 and note on ii. 18.

περὶ Ὀλούρου, περιελθόντες αὐ καὶ οὗτοι ὄπη
 ἐδύναντο εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν πόλιν Πελλήνην εἰσῆλθον.
 καὶ ἐκ τούτου δὴ ἐπολέμουν τοῖς ἐν Ὀλούρῳ
 Ἀρκάσι τε καὶ τῷ ἑαυτῶν παντὶ δήμῳ μάλα
 ὀλίγοι ὄντες· ὅμως δὲ οὐ πρόσθεν ἐπαύσαντο πρὶν
 ἐξεπολιόρκησαν τὸν Ὀλουρον.

- 19 Οἱ δ' αὖ Ἀρκάδες πάλιν ποιοῦνται ἄλλην
 στρατείαν εἰς τὴν Ἥλιν. μετὰ δὲ Κυλλήνης
 καὶ τῆς πόλεως στρατοπεδευομένοις αὐτοῖς ἐπι-
 τίθενται οἱ Ἥλείοι, ὑποστάντες δὲ οἱ Ἀρκάδες
 ἐνίκησαν αὐτούς. καὶ Ἀνδρόμαχος μὲν ὁ Ἥλειος
 ἵππαρχος, ὅσπερ αἴτιος ἐδόκει εἶναι τὴν μάχην
 συνάψαι, αὐτὸς αὐτὸν διέφθειρεν· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι εἰς
 τὴν πόλιν ἀπεχώρησαν. ἀπέθανε δὲ ἐν ταύτῃ
 τῇ μάχῃ παραγενόμενος καὶ Σωκλείδης ὁ Σπαρ-
 τιάτης· ἥδη γὰρ τότε οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι σύμμαχοι
 20 τοῖς Ἥλείοις ἦσαν. πιεζόμενοι δὲ οἱ Ἥλείοι ἐν
 τῇ ἑαυτῶν, ἡξίου καὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους
 πέμποντες πρέσβεις ἐπιστρατεύειν τοῖς Ἀρκάσι,
 νομίζοντες οὕτως ἂν μάλιστα ἀποκαμῆν τοὺς
 Ἀρκάδας, εἰ ἀμφοτέρωθεν πολεμοῖντο. καὶ ἐκ
 τούτου δὴ Ἀρχίδαμος στρατεύεται μετὰ τῶν
 πολιτῶν, καὶ καταλαμβάνει Κρῶμνον. κατα-
 λιπὼν δ' ἐν αὐτῷ φρουρὰν τῶν δώδεκα λόχων
 21 τρεῖς, οὕτως ἐπ' οἴκου ἀνεχώρησεν. οἱ μὲντοι
 Ἀρκάδες, ὥσπερ ἔτυχον ἐκ τῆς εἰς Ἥλιν στρατείας
 συνειλεγμένοι, βοηθήσαντες περισταύρωσαν τὸν
 Κρῶμνον διπλῶ σταυρώματι, καὶ ἐν ἀσφαλεί

Olurus, they in their turn made a roundabout march 365 B.C. and as best they could got into their own city, Pellene. And after this they carried on war not only with the Arcadians at Olurus, but also with the entire body of the democrats of their own state, although they were themselves very few in number; but nevertheless they did not cease until they had captured Olurus by siege.

The Arcadians on their side made yet another expedition into Elis. And while they were encamped between Cyllene and the capital, the Eleans made an attack upon them, but the Arcadians stood their ground and defeated them. Then Andromachus, the Elean commander of horse, the man who was thought to be responsible for having joined battle, killed himself; but the rest retired to the city. Among those who perished in this battle was also Socleides the Spartiate, who had meanwhile arrived; for by this time the Lacedaemonians were allies of the Eleans. And now the Eleans, being hard pressed in their own land, sent ambassadors and asked the Lacedaemonians also to take the field against the Arcadians, believing that the Arcadians would be most likely to give up the struggle in this event, that is, if they were beset by war from both sides. As a result of this request Archidamus took the field with the citizen troops and seized Cromnus. And after leaving in the town as a garrison three of the twelve battalions,¹ he then returned homewards. But the Arcadians, gathered together as they were in consequence of their expedition into Elis, came to the rescue and surrounded Cromnus with a double stockade, and, being thus

¹ The λόχος was half a μόρα (regiment).

ὄντες ἐπολιόρκουν τοὺς ἐν τῷ Κρῶμνῳ. χαλεπῶς
 δὲ ἡ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων πόλις φέρουσα ἐπὶ τῇ
 πολιορκίᾳ τῶν πολιτῶν, ἐκπέμπει στρατιάν.
 ἡγεῖτο δὲ καὶ τότε Ἀρχίδαμος. ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐδήλου
 καὶ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας ὅσα ἐδύνατο καὶ τῆς Σκιρί-
 τιδος, καὶ πάντα ἐποίει ὅπως, εἰ δύναιτο, ἀπ-
 αγάγοι τοὺς πολιορκοῦντας. οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες οὐδέν
 τι μᾶλλον ἐκινοῦντο, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα πάντα παρεώ-
 22 ρων. κατιδὼν δὲ τινα λόφον ὁ Ἀρχίδαμος, δι'
 οὗ τὸ ἔξω σταύρωμα περιεβέβληντο οἱ Ἀρκάδες,
 ἐνόμισεν ἐλεῖν αὐν τοῦτον, καὶ εἰ τούτου κρατή-
 σειεν, οὐκ αὖν δύνασθαι μένειν τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦτον
 πολιορκοῦντας. κύκλῳ δὲ περιάγοντος αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ
 τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον, ὥς εἶδον οἱ προθέοντες τοῦ
 Ἀρχιδάμου πελτασταὶ τοὺς ἐπαρίτους ἔξω τοῦ
 σταυρώματος, ἐπιτίθενται αὐτοῖς, καὶ οἱ ἵππεῖς
 συνεμβάλλειν ἐπειρῶντο. οἱ δ' οὐκ ἐνέκλιναν,
 ἀλλὰ συντεταγμένοι ἡσυχίαν εἶχον. οἱ δ' αὖ
 πάλιν ἐνέβαλον. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲ τότε ἐνέκλιναν,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπῆσαν, ἥδη οὔσης πολλῆς κραυγῆς,
 ἐβοήθει δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀρχίδαμος, ἐκτραπό-
 23 μενος κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Κρῶμνον φέρουσαν ἀμαξιτόν,
 εἰς δύο ἄγων, ὥσπερ ἐτύγχανεν ἔχων. ὥς δ'
 ἐπλησίασαν ἀλλήλοις, οἱ μὲν σὺν τῷ Ἀρχιδάμῳ
 κατὰ κέρας, ἅτε καθ' ὁδὸν πορευόμενοι, οἱ δ' Ἀρ-
 κάδες ἀθρόοι συνασπιδοῦντες, ἐν τούτῳ οὐκέτι

in a safe position, besieged the people in Cromnus. Then the city of Lacedaemon, distressed at the besieging of its citizens, sent out an army. And on this occasion also Archidamus was in command. When he had come, he laid waste as much as he could both of Arcadia and of Sciritis, and did everything in order, if possible, to draw off the besiegers. The Arcadians, however, were not any more disposed to stir than before, but disregarded all these doings. Then Archidamus, espying a hill over which the Arcadians had carried their outer stockade, came to the conclusion that he could capture it, and that if he became master of this hill, the besiegers at its foot would not be able to hold their position. Now while he was leading the way to this place by a roundabout route, as soon as the peltasts who were running on ahead of Archidamus caught sight of the Epariti¹ outside the stockade, they attacked them, and the cavalry endeavoured to join in the attack. The enemy, however, did not give way, but forming themselves into a compact body, remained quiet. Then the Lacedaemonians attacked again. The enemy did not give way even then, but on the contrary proceeded to advance, and by this time there was a deal of shouting; Archidamus himself thereupon came to the rescue, turning off along the wagon road which runs to Cromnus and leading his men in double file, just as he chanced to have them formed. Now as soon as the two forces had come near to one another, the troops of Archidamus in column, since they were marching along a road, and the Arcadians massed together in close

305 B.C

¹ The name given to the regular troops of the Arcadian League.

- ἐδύναντο οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀντέχειν τῷ τῶν Ἀρκάδων πλήθει, ἀλλὰ ταχὺ μὲν ὁ Ἀρχίδαμος ἐτέτρωτο τὸν μηρὸν διαμπάξ, ταχὺ δὲ οἱ μαχόμενοι πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἀπέθνησκον, Πολυαινίδας τε καὶ Χίλων ὁ τὴν ἀδελφὴν τοῦ Ἀρχιδάμου ἔχων, καὶ οἱ πάντες δὲ αὐτῶν τότε ἀπέθανον οὐκ ἔλαττον
- 24 τῶν τριάκοντα. ὥς δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἀναχωροῦντες εἰς τὴν εὐρυχωρίαν ἐξῆλθον, ἐνταῦθα δὴ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀντιπαρετάξαντο. καὶ μὴν οἱ Ἀρκάδες, ὥσπερ εἶχον, συντεταγμένοι ἕστασαν, καὶ πλήθει μὲν ἐλείποντο, εὐθυμότερον δὲ πολὺ εἶχον, ἐπεληλυθότες ἀποχωροῦσι καὶ ἄνδρας¹ ἀπεκτονότες. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι μάλα ἀθύμως εἶχον, τετρωμένον μὲν ὀρώντες τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον, ἀκηκοότες δὲ τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν τεθνηκότων, ἀνδρῶν
- 25 τε ἀγαθῶν καὶ σχεδὸν τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων. ὥς δὲ πλησίον ὄντων ἀναβοήσας τις τῶν πρεσβυτέρων εἶπε· Τί δεῖ ἡμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες, μάχεσθαι, ἀλλ' οὐ σπείσασθαι; ἄσμενοι δὲ ἀμφοτέρω ἀκούσαντες ἐσπείσαντο. καὶ οἱ μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀνελόμενοι ἀπῆλθον, οἱ δ' Ἀρκάδες ἐπαναχωρήσαντες ἔνθα τὸ πρῶτον ἤρξαντο ἐπιέναι τροπαῖον ἐστήσαντο.
- 26 Ὡς δὲ οἱ Ἀρκάδες περὶ τὸν Κρῶμνον ἦσαν, οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Ἡλείοι πρῶτον μὲν ἰόντες ἐπὶ τὴν Πύλον περιτυγχάνουσι τοῖς Πυλίοις ἀποκεκρουμένοις ἐκ τῶν Θαλαμῶν. καὶ προσελαύνοντες οἱ

¹ Kel., following Hartman, supposes that *τοσοῦτους* or *τοιούτους* has dropped out after *ἄνδρας*.

order, at this juncture the Lacedaemonians were no longer able to hold out against the superior weight of the Arcadians, but Archidamus speedily received a wound straight through his thigh and speedily those who fought in front of him kept falling, among them Polyaenidas and Chilon, who was married to the sister of Archidamus; and the whole number of them who fell at that time was not less than thirty. But when the Lacedaemonians as they retired along the road came out into open ground, they immediately formed themselves in line of battle against the enemy. The Arcadians on their side stood in close order, just as they were, and while inferior in numbers, they were in better spirits by far, since they had attacked a foe who retreated and had killed men. The Lacedaemonians, on the other hand, were exceedingly despondent, for they saw that Archidamus was wounded and they had heard the names of the dead, who were not only brave men but well nigh their most distinguished. But when, the Arcadians being now close at hand, one of the older men shouted out and said: "Why, sirs, should we fight, and not rather make a truce and become reconciled?" both sides heard him gladly and made a truce. Accordingly the Lacedaemonians took up their dead and departed, while the Arcadians returned to the place where they had originally begun to advance, and there set up a trophy.

While the Arcadians were occupied about Cromnus, the Eleans in the capital proceeded in the first place against Pylus,¹ and fell in with the Pylians after the latter had been driven out of Thalamae. And when the horsemen of the Eleans, as they rode

¹ *cp.* § 16.

- ἱππεῖς τῶν Ἡλείων ὥς εἶδον αὐτούς, οὐκ ἐμέλλησαν, ἀλλ' εὐθύς ἐμβάλλουσι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀποκτιννύουσιν, οἱ δέ τινες αὐτῶν καταφεύγουσιν ἐπὶ γήλοφον. ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἦλθον οἱ πεζοί, ἐκκόπτουσι καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ λόφῳ, καὶ τοὺς μὲν αὐτοῦ ἀπέκτειναν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ζῶντας ἔλαβον ἐγγὺς διακοσίῳν. καὶ ὅσοι μὲν ξένοι ἦσαν αὐτῶν, ἀπέδοντο, ὅσοι δὲ φυγάδες, ἀπέσφαττον. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοὺς τε Πυλίους, ὥς οὐδεὶς αὐτοῖς ἐβοήθει, σὺν αὐτῷ τῷ χωρίῳ αἰροῦσι, καὶ τοὺς Μαργανέας
- 27 ἀναλαμβάνουσι. καὶ μὴν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὕστερον αὐ ἐλθόντες νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὸν Κρῶμνον ἐπικρατοῦσι τοῦ σταυρώματος τοῦ κατὰ τοὺς Ἀργεῖους καὶ τοὺς πολιορκουμένους τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων¹ εὐθύς ἐξεκάλουν. ὅσοι μὲν οὖν ἐγγύτατά τε ἐτύγχανον ὄντες καὶ ὠξυλάβησαν, ἐξῆλθον· ὅπουσους δὲ ἔφθασαν πολλοὶ τῶν Ἀρκάδων συμβοηθήσαντες, ἀπεκλείσθησαν ἔνδον καὶ ληφθέντες διενεμήθησαν. καὶ ἐν μὲν μέρος ἔλαβον Ἀργεῖοι, ἐν δὲ Θηβαῖοι, ἐν δὲ Ἀρκάδες, ἐν δὲ Μεσσήνιοι. οἱ δὲ σύμπαντες ληφθέντες Σπαρτιατῶν τε καὶ περιοίκων πλείους τῶν ἑκατὸν ἐγένοντο.
- 28 Ἐπεὶ γε μὴν οἱ Ἀρκάδες ἐσχόλασαν ἀπὸ τοῦ Κρῶμνου, πάλιν δὴ περὶ τοὺς Ἡλείους εἶχον, καὶ τήν τε Ὀλυμπίαν ἐρρωμενέστερον ἐφρούρου, καὶ ἐπιόντος Ὀλυμπιακοῦ ἔτους παρεσκευάζοντο ποιεῖν τὰ Ὀλύμπια σὺν Πισάταις τοῖς πρώτοις φάσκουσι προστῆναι τοῦ ἱεροῦ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ τε μὴν ἦκεν ἐν ᾧ τὰ Ὀλύμπια γίγνεται αἱ τε ἡμέραι

¹ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων MSS. : Kel. brackets, following Breitenbach.

along, caught sight of the Pylians, they did not 305 B.C.
 delay, but attacked at once, and they killed some of
 them, while others fled for refuge to a hill; but as
 soon as the infantry came up they dislodged those
 upon the hill also, and killed some of them on the
 spot and took captive others, nearly two hundred
 in number. Thereupon they sold all among the
 prisoners who were foreigners and put to the sword
 all who were Elean exiles. After this the Eleans not
 only captured the Pylians, along with their strong-
 hold, inasmuch as no one came to their aid, but also
 recovered Margana. As for the Lacedaemonians,
 they afterwards went against Cromnus again by
 night, made themselves masters of the stockade
 which was opposite the Argives, and immediately
 proceeded to call forth the Lacedaemonians who
 were besieged there. Now all who chanced to
 be nearest at hand and seized the opportunity
 promptly, came forth; but such as were forestalled
 by a large body of the Arcadians which came to the
 rescue, were shut off inside the stockade, captured,
 and distributed. And the Argives received one
 portion, the Thebans one, the Arcadians one, and
 the Messenians one. And the whole number who
 were captured of the Spartiatae and the Perioeci
 came to more than one hundred.

When the Arcadians were no longer occupied with 304 B.C.
 Cromnus, they occupied themselves again with the
 Eleans, and they not only kept Olympia more
 strongly garrisoned, but also, since an Olympic year
 was coming on, prepared to celebrate the Olympic
 games in company with the Pisatans, who say that
 they were the first to have charge of the sanctuary.
 But when the month came in which the Olympic

ἐν αἷς ἡ πανήγυρις ἀθροίζεται, ἐνταῦθα δὲ οἱ
 Ἑλλεῖοι ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ συσκευασάμενοι καὶ
 παρακαλέσαντες Ἀχαιοὺς ἐπορεύοντο τὴν Ὀλυμ-
 29 πιακὴν ὁδόν. οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες ἐκείνους μὲν οὐκ
 ἂν ποτε ᾤοντο ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ σφᾶς, αὐτοὶ δὲ σὺν
 Πισάταις διετίθεσαν τὴν πανήγυριν. καὶ τὴν
 μὲν ἵπποδρομίαν ἤδη ἐπεποιήκεσαν καὶ τὰ δρο-
 μικά τοῦ πεντάθλου. οἱ δ' εἰς πάλην ἀφικόμενοι
 οὐκέτι ἐν τῷ δρόμῳ, ἀλλὰ μεταξὺ τοῦ δρόμου καὶ
 τοῦ βωμοῦ ἐπάλαιον. οἱ γὰρ Ἑλλεῖοι σὺν τοῖς
 ὅπλοις παρῆσαν ἤδη εἰς τὸ τέμενος. οἱ δὲ Ἀρ-
 κάδες πορρωτέρω μὲν οὐκ ἀπήντησαν, ἐπὶ δὲ
 τοῦ Κλαδάου ποταμοῦ παρετάξαντο, ὃς παρὰ
 τὴν Ἀλτιν καταρρέων εἰς τὸν Ἀλφειὸν ἐμβάλλει.
 καὶ σύμμαχοι δὲ παρῆσαν αὐτοῖς, ὀπλίται μὲν
 Ἀργείων εἰς δισχιλίους, Ἀθηναίων δὲ ἵππεῖς περὶ
 30 τετρακοσίους. καὶ μὴν οἱ Ἑλλεῖοι τὰπὶ θάτερα
 τοῦ ποταμοῦ παρετάξαντο, σφαγιασάμενοι δὲ εὐ-
 θὺς ἐχώρουν. καὶ τὸν πρόσθεν χρόνον εἰς τὰ
 πολεμικὰ καταφρονούμενοι μὲν ὑπ' Ἀρκάδων καὶ
 Ἀργείων, καταφρονούμενοι δὲ ὑπ' Ἀχαιῶν καὶ
 Ἀθηναίων, ὅμως ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν μὲν συμ-
 μάχων ὥς ἀλκιμώτατοι ὄντες ἡγούντο, τοὺς δ'

¹ The *pentathlon*, which immediately followed the horse-
 race, consisted—as its name implies—of five events, *viz.*
 running, jumping, discus-throwing, javelin-hurling, and
 wrestling. The order of these events is uncertain, except
 that the wrestling contest was the last, while the foot-race
 was in all probability the first. The first four events (τὰ

games take place and the days on which the festal assembly gathers, at this time the Eleans, after making their preparations openly and summoning the Achaeans to their aid, proceeded to march along the road leading to Olympia. Now the Arcadians had never imagined that the Eleans would come against them, and were themselves directing the festal meeting in company with the Pisatans. They had already finished the horse-race, and the events of the *pentathlon*¹ held in the race-course. And the competitors who had reached the wrestling² were no longer in the race-course, but were wrestling in the space between the race-course and the altar.³ For the Eleans, under arms, had by this time reached the sacred precinct. Then the Arcadians, without advancing to meet them, formed in line of battle on the river Cladaüs, which flows past the Altis⁴ and empties into the Alpheus. They had allies also to support them, about two thousand hoplites of the Argives and about four hundred horsemen of the Athenians. And the Eleans formed in line on the opposite side of the river, and, after offering sacrifice, immediately advanced. And although in former time they had been despised in matters of war by the Arcadians and Argives, and despised by the Achaeans and Athenians, nevertheless on that day they led their allies forward, as men who were unexcelled in valour, and they not only routed the Arcadians at

δρομικά) were held in the δρόμος, or race-course, the wrestling usually in the open space in front of the treasury steps.

² i.e. had survived the first four events.

³ The great altar of Zeus, whose sacredness was expected to protect them from any attack by the Eleans.

⁴ The inner portion of the sacred precinct bore this name.

- Ἄρκάδας, τούτοις γὰρ πρῶτον συνέβαλον, καὶ εὐθὺς ἐτρέψαντο, καὶ ἐπιβοηθήσαντας δὲ τοὺς
- 31 Ἀργεῖους δεξάμενοι καὶ τούτων ἐκράτησαν. ἐπεὶ μέντοι κατεδίωξαν εἰς τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου καὶ τοῦ τῆς Ἑστίας ἱεροῦ καὶ τοῦ πρὸς ταῦτα προσήκοντος θεάτρου, ἐμάχοντο μὲν οὐδὲν ἥττον καὶ ἐώθουν πρὸς τὸν βωμόν, ἀπὸ μέντοι τῶν στοῶν τε καὶ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου καὶ τοῦ μεγάλου ναοῦ βαλλόμενοι καὶ ἐν τῷ ἰσοπέδῳ μαχόμενοι, ἀποθνήσκουσιν ἄλλοι τε τῶν Ἑλλείων καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ τῶν τριακοσίων ἄρχων Στρατόλας. τούτων δὲ πραχθέντων ἀπεχώρησαν εἰς τὸ αὐτῶν
- 32 στρατόπεδον. οἱ μέντοι Ἀρκάδες καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτῶν οὕτως ἐπεφόβηντο τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν ὥστε οὐδ' ἀνεπαύσαντο τῆς νυκτός, ἐκκόπτοντες τὰ διαπεπονημένα σκηνώματα καὶ ἀποσταυροῦντες. οἱ δ' αὖ Ἑλλεῖοι ἐπεὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ προσιόντες εἶδον καρτερὸν τὸ τεῖχος καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ναῶν πολλοὺς ἀναβεβηκότας, ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὸ ἄστυ, τοιοῦτοι γενόμενοι οἷους τὴν ἀρετὴν θεὸς μὲν ἂν ἐμπνεύσας δύναιτο καὶ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἀποδείξαι, ἀνθρώποι δὲ οὐδ' ἂν ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ τοὺς μὴ ὄντας ἀλκίμους ποιήσειαν.
- 33 Χρωμένων δὲ τοῖς ἱεροῖς χρήμασι τῶν ἐν τοῖς Ἀρκάσιν ἀρχόντων, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων τοὺς ἐπαρίτους τρεφόντων, πρῶτοι Μαντινεῖς ἀπεψηφίσαντο μὴ χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἱεροῖς χρήμασι. καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸ

once—for it was these whom they encountered 304 B.C.
 first—but withstood the attack of the Argives when they came to the rescue, and won the victory over them also. When, however, they had pursued the enemy to the space between the senate house and the temple of Hestia and the theatre which adjoins these buildings, although they fought no less stoutly and kept pushing the enemy towards the altar, still, since they were pelted from the roofs of the porticoes, the senate house, and the great temple,¹ and were themselves fighting on the ground-level, some of the Eleans were killed, among them Stratolas himself, the leader of the Three Hundred. When this happened, they retired to their own camp. But the Arcadians and those with them were so fearful for the coming day that they did not so much as go to rest during the night, being engaged in cutting down the carefully constructed booths² and building a stockade. As for the Eleans, when they returned on the next day and saw that the stockade was a strong one and that many men had climbed up on the temples, they withdrew to their city, having shown themselves such men in point of valour as a god no doubt could produce by his inspiration even in a day, but human creatures could not make even in a long time out of those who were not valiant.

Now while the leaders of the Arcadians were 305 B.C.
 using the sacred treasures,³ and therefrom maintaining the Epariti, the Mantineans were the first to pass a vote not to make use of the sacred treasures. For themselves, they collected in their city the

¹ Of Zeus.

² Built by merchants or for the shelter and convenience of visitors.

³ i.e. of Olympia.

γιγνόμενον μέρος εἰς τοὺς ἐπαρίτους ἐκ τῆς πό-
 λεως ἐκπορίσαντες ἀπέπεμψαν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν. οἱ
 δὲ ἄρχοντες φάσκοντες αὐτοὺς λυμαίνεσθαι τὸ
 Ἑρκαδικόν, ἀνεκαλοῦντο εἰς τοὺς μυρίους τοὺς
 προστάτας αὐτῶν· καὶ ἐπεὶ οὐχ ὑπήκουον, κατεδί-
 κασαν αὐτῶν, καὶ τοὺς ἐπαρίτους ἔπεμπον ὡς
 ἄξοντας τοὺς κατακεκριμένους. οἱ μὲν οὖν Μαν-
 τινεῖς κλείσαντες τὰς πύλας οὐκ ἐδέχοντο αὐτοὺς
 34 εἶσω. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τάχα δὴ καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς
 ἔλεγον ἐν τοῖς μυρίοις ὡς οὐ χρή τοῖς ἱεροῖς χρή-
 μασι χρήσθαι οὐδὲ καταλιπεῖν εἰς τὸν αἰὲ χρόνον
 τοῖς παισὶν ἔγκλημα τοῦτο πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς. ὡς
 δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ κοινῷ ἀπέδοξε μηκέτι χρήσθαι τοῖς
 ἱεροῖς χρήμασι, ταχὺ δὴ οἱ μὲν οὐκ ἂν δυνάμενοι
 ἄνευ μισθοῦ τῶν ἐπαρίτων εἶναι διεχέοντο, οἱ δὲ
 δυνάμενοι παρακελευσάμενοι αὐτοῖς καθίσταντο
 εἰς τοὺς ἐπαρίτους, ὅπως μὴ αὐτοὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνοις,
 ἀλλ' ἐκείνοι ἐπὶ σφίσιν εἶεν. γνόντες δὲ τῶν
 ἀρχόντων οἱ διακεχειρικότες τὰ ἱερὰ χρήματα
 ὅτι εἰ δώσοιεν εὐθύνας, κινδυνεύοιεν ἀπολέσθαι,
 πέμπουσιν εἰς Θήβας, καὶ διδάσκουσι τοὺς
 35 οἱ Ἑρκαδες πάλιν λακωνίσαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν παρε-
 σκευάζοντο ὡς στρατευσόμενοι· οἱ δὲ τὰ κράτιστα
 τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ βουλευόμενοι ἔπεισαν τὸ κοινὸν
 τῶν Ἑρκαδῶν πέμψαντας πρέσβεις εἰπεῖν τοῖς
 Θηβαίοις μὴ ἰέναι σὺν ὅπλοις εἰς τὴν Ἑρκαδίαν,
 εἰ μὴ τι καλοῖεν. καὶ ἅμα μὲν ταῦτα πρὸς τοὺς

amount which fell to their share towards the payment of the Epariti and sent it off to the leaders. The leaders, however, said that they were doing harm to the Arcadian League, and summoned their rulers before the Ten Thousand; and when they refused to heed the summons, they passed sentence upon them and sent the Epariti to bring those who had been thus condemned. Then the Mantineans shut their gates and would not admit the Epariti within their walls. As a result of this some others likewise were soon saying in the meeting of the Ten Thousand that they ought not to use the sacred treasures, or to leave to their children for all time such an offence in the eyes of the gods. When, accordingly, a vote had been passed in the Arcadian assembly not to make use of the sacred treasures any longer, those who could not belong to the Epariti without pay speedily began to melt away, while those who could, spurred on one another and began to enroll themselves in the Epariti, in order that they might not be in the power of that body, but rather that it might be in their power. Then such of the Arcadian leaders as had handled the sacred treasures, realizing that, if they had to render an account, they would be in danger of being put to death, sent to Thebes and explained to the Thebans that if they did not take the field, the Arcadians would be likely to go over to the Lacedaemonians again. The Thebans accordingly prepared to take the field; but those who sought the best interests of Peloponnesus persuaded the general assembly of the Arcadians to send ambassadors and tell the Thebans not to come under arms to Arcadia unless they sent them a summons. And while they

268 A.C.

Θηβαίους ἔλεγον, ἅμα δὲ ἐλογίζοντο ὅτι πολέμου οὐδὲν δέοιντο. τοῦ τε γὰρ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Διὸς προσεσθάναι οὐδὲν προσδεῖσθαι ἐνόμιζον, ἀλλ' ἀποδιδόντες ἂν καὶ δικαιοτέρα καὶ ὀσιώτερα ποιεῖν, καὶ τῷ θεῷ οἶεσθαι μᾶλλον ἂν οὕτω χαρίζεσθαι. βουλομένων δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τῶν Ἑλλείων, ἔδοξεν ἀμφοτέροις εἰρήνην ποιήσασθαι καὶ ἐγένοντο σπονδαί.

- 36 Γενομένων δὲ τῶν ὀρκων, καὶ ὁμοσάντων τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀπάντων καὶ Τεγεατῶν καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Θηβαίου, ὃς ἐτύγχανεν ἐν Τεγέᾳ ἔχων τριακοσίους ὀπλίτας τῶν Βοιωτῶν, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι Ἀρκάδες ἐν τῇ Τεγέᾳ¹ αὐτοῦ ἐπικαταμείναντες ἐδειπνοποιοῦντό τε καὶ ἠὺθυμοῦντο καὶ σπονδὰς καὶ παιᾶνας ὡς εἰρήνης γεγενημένης ἐποιοῦντο, ὃ δὲ Θηβαῖος καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων οἱ φοβούμενοι τὰς εὐθύνας σὺν τε τοῖς Βοιωτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ὁμογνώμοσι τῶν ἐπαρίτων κλείσαντες τὰς πύλας τοῦ τῶν Τεγεατῶν τείχους, πέμποντες ἐπὶ τοὺς σκηνοῦντας συνελάμβανον τοὺς βελτίστους. ἅτε δὲ ἐκ πασῶν τῶν πόλεων παρόντων τῶν Ἀρκάδων, καὶ πάντων εἰρήνην βουλομένων ἔχειν, πολλοὺς ἔδει τοὺς συλλαμβανομένους εἶναι· ὥστε ταχὺ μὲν αὐτοῖς τὸ δεσμωτήριον μεστὸν ἦν, ταχὺ δὲ ἡ
- 37 δημοσία οἰκία. ὡς δὲ πολλοὶ οἱ εἰργμένοι ἦσαν, πολλοὶ δὲ οἱ κατὰ τοῦ τείχους ἐκπεπηδηκότες, ἦσαν δ' οἱ καὶ διὰ τῶν πυλῶν ἀφεῖντο· οὐδεὶς γὰρ οὐδενὶ ὠργίζετο, ὅστις μὴ ᾤετο ἀπολείσθαι· ἀπορήσαι δὴ μάλιστα ἐποίησε τὸν τε Θηβαῖον καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ ταῦτα πράττοντας ὅτι Μαν-

¹ ἐν τῇ Τεγέᾳ MSS.: Kel. brackets, following Cobet.

said this to the Thebans, at the same time they 868 a.c. reasoned that they had no desire for war. For they held that they had no desire for the presidency of the shrine of Zeus, but that they would be acting more justly as well as more righteously if they gave it back, and that in this way, as they supposed, they would please the god better. Now since the Eleans also were desirous of this course, both parties resolved to make peace ; and a truce was concluded.

After the oaths had been taken and, besides all the rest, the Tegeans had sworn and the Theban governor himself, who chanced to be in Tegea with three hundred hoplites of the Boeotians, then, while the bulk of the Arcadians, still remaining there in Tegea, feasted and made merry, poured libations and sang paeans over the conclusion of peace, the Theban and such of the Arcadian leaders as were fearful about their accounts, after closing the gates in the wall of Tegea with the help of the Boeotians and their partisans among the Epariti, sent to the feasters and proceeded to seize the aristocrats. But inasmuch as the Arcadians of all the cities were present and all of them were desirous of having peace, those who were seized were necessarily many, so that their prison was speedily full, and the city hall likewise. Since, however, there were many who had been imprisoned, and many who had leaped down outside the wall, and some also who had been let out through the gates (for no one, unless he expected to be put to death,¹ felt resentment against anyone else), it was a cause of the greatest embarrassment to the Theban governor and those who were acting with him in this matter that of the Mantineans, whom

¹ *cp.* § 34.

τινέας, οὓς μάλιστα ἐβούλοντο λαβεῖν, ὀλίγους
τινὰς πάνυ εἶχον· διὰ γὰρ τὸ ἐγγὺς τὴν πόλιν
εἶναι σχεδὸν πάντες ὥχοντο οἴκαδε.

- 38 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο καὶ τὰ πεπραγμένα ἐπύ-
θοντο οἱ Μαντινεῖς, εὐθὺς πέμποντες εἰς τε τὰς
ἄλλας Ἀρκαδικὰς πόλεις προηγόρευον ἐν τοῖς
ὅπλοις εἶναι καὶ φυλάττειν τὰς παρόδους. καὶ
αὐτοὶ δὲ οὕτως ἐποιοῦν, καὶ ἅμα πέμψαντες εἰς τὴν
Τεγέαν ἀπῆτουν ὅσους ἔχοιεν ἄνδρας Μαντινέων·
καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ Ἀρκάδων οὐδένα ἀξιοῦν ἔφασαν
οὔτε δεδέεσθαι οὔτε ἀποθνήσκειν πρὸ δίκης. εἰ
δὲ καὶ τινες ἐπαιτιῶντο, ἔλεγον ἐπαγγέλλοντες
ὅτι ἡ τῶν Μαντινέων πόλις ἐγγυῶτο ἢ μὴν παρ-
έξειν εἰς τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀρκάδων ὁπόσους τις
- 39 προσκαλοῖτο. ἀκούων οὖν ὁ Θηβαῖος, ἠπόρει
τε ὅ τι χρήσαιτο τῷ πράγματι καὶ ἀφίησι πάν-
τας τοὺς ἄνδρας. καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ συγκαλέσας
τῶν Ἀρκάδων ὁπόσοι γε δὴ συνελθεῖν ἠθέλησαν,
ἀπελογεῖτο ὥς ἐξαπατηθεῖη. ἀκουῖσαι γὰρ ἔφη
ὥς Λακεδαιμόνιοί τε εἶεν σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐπὶ τοῖς
ὀρίοις προδιδόναι τε μέλλοιεν αὐτοῖς τὴν Τεγέαν
τῶν Ἀρκάδων τινές. οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες, ἐκείνους
μὲν, καίπερ γινώσκοντες ὅτι ἐψεύδετο περὶ
σφῶν, ἀφίεσαν· πέμψαντες δ' εἰς Θήβας πρέσβεις
- 40 κατηγόρουں αὐτοῦ ὥς δεῖν ἀποθανεῖν. τὸν δ'
Ἐπαμεινώνδαν ἔφασαν, καὶ γὰρ στρατηγῶν τότε
ἐτύχανε, λέγειν ὥς πολὺ ὀρθότερον ποιήσειεν,
ὅτε συνελάμβανε τοὺς ἄνδρας ἢ ὅτε ἀφῆκε. Τὸ

they most wanted to capture, they had but a very few ; for because their city was near by, almost all of them had gone home. 863 a.c.

Now when day came and the Mantineans learned what had been done, they straightway sent to the other Arcadian cities and gave them word to hold themselves under arms and to guard the passes. The Mantineans likewise followed this course themselves, and at the same time, sending to Tegea, demanded back all the men of Mantinea whom they were holding there ; and they said that they demanded in the case of the other Arcadians also that no one of them should be kept in prison or put to death without a trial. And if anyone had any charges to bring against these men, they gave assurances that the city of Mantinea pledged itself in very truth to produce before the general assembly of the Arcadians all whom anyone might summon to trial. The Theban accordingly, on hearing this, was at a loss to know how he should deal with the matter, and released all the men. Then on the following day he called together as many of the Arcadians as chose to gather and said in his defence that he had been deceived. For he had heard, he said, that the Lacedaemonians were on the borders under arms and that some of the Arcadians were going to betray Tegea to them. Upon hearing this they acquitted him, although they knew that he was speaking falsely about them, but they sent ambassadors to Thebes and brought charges against him, saying that he ought to be put to death. It was said, however, that Epaminondas (for he chanced to be general at that time) urged that he had acted far more rightly when he seized the men than when

γὰρ ἡμῶν δι' ὑμᾶς εἰς πόλεμον καταστάντων ὑμᾶς ἄνευ τῆς ἡμετέρας γνώμης εἰρήνην ποιεῖσθαι πῶς οὐκ ἂν δικαίως προδοσίαν τις ὑμῶν τοῦτο κατηγοροίη; εὖ δ' ἴστε, ἔφη, ὅτι ἡμεῖς καὶ στρατευσόμεθα εἰς τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν καὶ σὺν τοῖς τὰ ἡμέτερα φρονοῦσι πολεμήσομεν.

V. Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἀπηγγέλθη πρὸς τε τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀρκαδῶν καὶ κατὰ πόλεις, ἐκ τούτου ἀνελογίζοντο Μαντινεῖς τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἀρκαδῶν οἱ κηδόμενοι τῆς Πελοποννήσου, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ Ἡλείοι καὶ Ἀχαιοί, ὅτι Θηβαῖοι δῆλοι εἶεν βουλόμενοι ὡς ἀσθενεστάτην τὴν Πελοπόννησον εἶναι, ὅπως ὡς ῥᾶστα αὐτὴν καταδουλώσαιντο.

- 2 Τί γὰρ δὴ πολεμεῖν ἡμᾶς βούλονται ἢ ἵνα ἡμεῖς μὲν ἀλλήλους κακῶς ποιῶμεν, ἐκείνων δ' ἀμφοτέροι δεώμεθα; ἢ τί λεγόντων ἡμῶν ὅτι οὐ δεόμεθα αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ παρόντι παρασκευάζονται ὡς ἐξιόντες; οὐ δῆλον ὡς ἐπὶ τῷ κακόν τι ἐργάζεσθαι
- 3 ἡμᾶς στρατεύειν παρασκευάζονται; ἔπεμπον δὲ καὶ Ἀθήναζε βοηθεῖν κελεύοντες· ἐπορεύθησαν δὲ καὶ εἰς Λακεδαίμονα πρέσβεις ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπαρίτων, παρακαλοῦντες Λακεδαιμονίους, εἰ βούλονται κοινῇ διακωλύειν, ἂν τινες ἴωσι καταδουλωσόμενοι τὴν Πελοπόννησον. περὶ μέντοι ἡγεμονίας αὐτόθεν διεπράττοντο ὅπως ἐν τῇ ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστοι ἡγήσονται.

- 4 Ἐν ὅσῳ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐπράττετο, Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἐξήει, Βοιωτοὺς ἔχων πάντας καὶ Εὐβοᾶς καὶ

he released them. "For," he said to the ambassadors, "it was on your account that we entered upon war, and you concluded peace without our approval; should we not, therefore, be justified in charging you with treason for this act? But be well assured," said he, "that we shall make an expedition to Arcadia and shall wage war in company with those who hold to our side." 363 B.C.

V. When these things were reported back to the general assembly of the Arcadians and to the several cities, the Mantineans and such of the other Arcadians as were concerned for Peloponnesus inferred therefrom, as did likewise the Eleans and the Achaeans, that the Thebans manifestly wanted Peloponnesus to be as weak as possible so that they might as easily as possible reduce it to slavery. "For why in the world," they said, "do they wish us to make war unless it is in order that we may do harm to one another and consequently may both feel the need of them? Or why, when we say that we do not at present need them, are they preparing to march forth? Is it not clear that it is for the purpose of working some harm upon us that they are preparing to take the field?" And they sent to Athens also, bidding the Athenians come to their aid, while ambassadors from the Epariti proceeded to Lacedaemon as well, to invite the help of the Lacedaemonians in case they wanted to join in checking any who might come to enslave Peloponnesus. As for the matter of the leadership, they arranged at once that each people should hold it while within its own territory. 362 B.C.

While these things were being done, Epaminondas was on his outward march at the head of all the

- Θετταλῶν πολλοὺς παρά τε Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων αὐτῷ. Φωκεῖς μέντοι οὐκ ἠκολούθουν, λέγοντες ὅτι συνθήκαι σφίσιν αὐτοῖς¹ εἶεν, εἴ τις ἐπὶ Θήβας ἴοι, βοηθεῖν, ἐπ' ἄλλους δὲ
- 5 στρατεύειν οὐκ εἶναι ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις. ὁ μέντοι Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἐλογίζετο καὶ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ σφίσιν ὑπάρχειν Ἀργείους τε καὶ Μεσσηνίους καὶ Ἀρκάδων τοὺς τὰ σφέτερα φρονούντας. ἦσαν δ' οὗτοι Τεγεᾶται καὶ Μεγαλοπολίται καὶ Ἀσεᾶται καὶ Παλλαντιεῖς, καὶ εἴ τινες δὴ πόλεις διὰ τὸ μικραὶ τε εἶναι καὶ ἐν μέσαις ταύταις οἰκεῖν
- 6 ἠναγκάζοντο. ἐξῆλθε μὲν δὴ ὁ Ἐπαμεινώνδας διὰ ταχέων· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένετο ἐν Νεμέᾳ, ἐνταῦθα διέτριβεν, ἐλπίζων τοὺς Ἀθηναίους παριόντας λήψεσθαι καὶ λογιζόμενος μέγα ἂν τοῦτο γενέσθαι τοῖς μὲν σφετέροις συμμάχοις εἰς τὸ ἐπιρρῶσαι αὐτούς, τοῖς δὲ ἐναντίοις εἰς τὸ εἰς ἀθυμίαν ἐμπεσεῖν, ὥς δὲ συνελόντι εἰπεῖν, πᾶν ἀγαθὸν εἶναι
- 7 Θηβαίοις ὃ τι ἐλαττοῖντο Ἀθηναῖοι. ἐν δὲ τῇ διατριβῇ αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ συνῆσαν πάντες οἱ ὁμοφρονούντες εἰς τὴν Μαντίνειαν. ἐπεὶ μέντοι ὁ Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἤκουσε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τὸ μὲν κατὰ γῆν πορεύεσθαι ἀπεγνωκέαι, κατὰ θάλατταν δὲ παρασκευάζεσθαι ὥς διὰ Λακεδαίμονος βοηθήσουντας τοῖς Ἀρκάσιν, οὕτω δὲ ἀφορμήσας
- 8 ἐκ τῆς Νεμέας ἀφικνεῖται εἰς τὴν Τεγεάν. εὐτυχῇ μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἂν ἔγωγε φήσαιμι τὴν στρατηγίαν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι· ὅσα μέντοι προνοίας ἔργα καὶ

¹ αὐτοῖς MSS. · Kel. brackets.

Boeotians, the Euboeans, and many of the Thessalians, who came both from Alexander¹ and from his opponents. The Phocians, however, declined to join the expedition, saying that their agreement was to lend aid in case anyone went against Thebes, but that to take the field against others was not in the agreement. Epaminondas reflected, however, that his people had supporters in Peloponnesus also—the Argives, the Messenians, and such of the Arcadians as held to their side. These were the Tegeans, the Megalopolitans, the Aseans, the Pallantians, and whatever cities were constrained to adopt this course for the reason that they were small and surrounded by these others. Epaminondas accordingly pushed forth with speed; but when he arrived at Nemea he delayed there, hoping to catch the Athenians as they passed by, and estimating that this would be a great achievement, not only in the view of his people's allies, so as to encourage them, but also in that of their opponents, so that they would fall into despondency—in a word, that every loss the Athenians suffered was a gain for the Thebans. And during this delay on his part all those who held the same views² were gathering together at Mantinea. But when Epaminondas heard that the Athenians had given up the plan of proceeding by land and were preparing to go by sea, with the intention of marching through Lacedaemon to the aid of the Arcadians, under these circumstances he set forth from Nemea and arrived at Tegea. Now I for my part could not say that his campaign proved fortunate; yet of all possible deeds of forethought and

¹ *cp.* VI. iv. 34 f.

² *i.e.* of hostility to Thebes.

τόλμης ἐστίν, οὐδέν μοι δοκεῖ ἀνὴρ ἐλλιπεῖν. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἔγωγε ἐπαινῶ αὐτοῦ ὅτι τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐν τῷ τείχει τῶν Τεγεατῶν ἐποίησατο, ἔνθ' ἐν ἀσφαλεστέρῳ τε ἦν ἢ εἰ ἔξω ἐστρατοπεδεύετο καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐν ἀδηλοτέρῳ ὃ τι πράττειτο. καὶ παρασκευάζεσθαι δέ, εἴ του ἐδεῖτο, ἐν τῇ πόλει ὄντι εὐπορώτερον ἦν. τῶν δ' ἐτέρων ἔξω στρατοπεδευομένων ἐξῆν ὁρᾶν, εἴτε τι ὀρθῶς ἐπράττετο εἴτε τι ἡμάρτανον. καὶ μὴν οἰόμενος κρείττων τῶν ἀντιπάλων εἶναι, ὁπότε ὀρώη χωρίοις πλεονεκτοῦντας αὐτούς, οὐκ ἐξήγετο
9 ἐπιτίθεσθαι. ὁρῶν δὲ οὔτε πόλιν αὐτῷ προσχωροῦσαν οὐδεμίαν τὸν τε χρόνον προβαίνοντα, ἐνόμισε πρακτέον τι εἶναι. εἰ δὲ μή, ἀντὶ τῆς πρόσθεν εὐκλείας πολλὴν ἄδοξίαν προσεδέχετο. ἐπεὶ οὖν κατεμάνθανε περὶ μὲν τὴν Μαντίνειαν τοὺς ἀντιπάλους πεφυλαγμένους, μεταπεμπομένους δὲ Ἀγησίλαόν τε καὶ πάντας τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, καὶ ἦσθετο ἐξεστρατευμένον τὸν Ἀγησίλαον καὶ ὄντα ἤδη ἐν τῇ Πελλήνῃ, δειπνοποιήσασθαι παραγγείλας ἡγείτο τῷ στρατεύματι εὐθύς
10 ἐπὶ Σπάρτην. καὶ εἰ μὴ Κρῆς θείᾳ τινὶ μοίρᾳ προσελθὼν ἐξήγγειλε τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ προσιδόν τὸ στράτευμα, ἔλαβεν ἂν τὴν πόλιν ὥσπερ νεοττιὰν παντάπασιν ἔρημον τῶν ἀμυνομένων. ἐπεὶ μέντοι προπυθόμενος ταῦτα ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἐφθῇ εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀπελθὼν, διαταξάμενοι οἱ Σπαρτιᾶται ἐφύλαττον, καὶ μάλα ὀλίγοι ὄντες. οἳ τε γὰρ ἱππεῖς αὐτοῖς πάντες ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ ἀπῆσαν καὶ

daring the man seems to me to have left not one undone. For, in the first place, I commend his pitching his camp within the wall of Tegea, where he was in greater safety than if he had been encamped outside, and where whatever was being done was more entirely concealed from the enemy. Furthermore, it was easier for him, being in the city, to provide himself with whatever he needed. Since the enemy, on the other hand, was encamped outside, it was possible to see whether they were doing things rightly or were making mistakes. Again, while he believed that he was stronger than his adversaries, he could never be induced to attack them when he saw that they held the advantage in position. However, when he perceived that no city was coming over to him and that time was passing on, he decided that some action must be taken; otherwise, in place of his former fame, he must expect deep disgrace. When he became aware, therefore, that his adversaries had taken up a strong position in the neighbourhood of Mantinea and were sending after Agesilaus and all the Lacedaemonians, and learned, further, that Agesilaus had marched forth and was already at Pellene, he gave orders to his men to get their dinner and led his army straight upon Sparta. And had not a Cretan by a kind of providential chance come and reported to Agesilaus that the army was advancing, he would have captured the city, like a nest entirely empty of its defenders. But when Agesilaus, having received word of this in time, had got back to the city ahead of the enemy, the Spartiatae posted themselves at various points and kept guard, although they were extremely few. For all their horsemen were away in Arcadia and likewise

362 B.C.

τὸ ξενικὸν καὶ τῶν λόχων δώδεκα ὄντων οἱ
τρεῖς.

- 11 Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγένετο Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἐν τῇ πόλει τῶν
Σπαρτιατῶν, ὅπου μὲν ἔμελλον ἔν τε ἰσοπέδῳ
μαχεῖσθαι καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκιῶν βληθήσεσθαι,
οὐκ εἰσῆει ταύτῃ, οὐδ' ὅπου γε μηδὲν πλέον
ἔχοντες μαχεῖσθαι τῶν ὀλίγων πολλοὶ ὄντες.
ἐνθεν δὲ πλεονεκτεῖν ἂν ἐνόμιζε, τοῦτο λαβὼν τὸ
χωρίον κατέβαινε καὶ οὐκ ἀνέβαινεν¹ εἰς τὴν
12 πόλιν. τό γε μὴν ἐντεῦθεν γενόμενον ἔξεστι
μὲν τὸ θεῖον αἰτιᾶσθαι, ἔξεστι δὲ λέγειν ὥς τοῖς
ἀπονενουμένοις οὐδεὶς ἂν ὑποσταίῃ. ἐπεὶ γὰρ
ἡγεῖτο Ἀρχίδαμος οὐδὲ ἑκατὸν ἔχων ἄνδρας, καὶ
διαβάς ὅπερ ἐδόκει τι ἔχειν κώλυμα ἐπορεύετο
πρὸς ὄρθιον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀντιπάλους, ἐνταῦθα δὴ οἱ
πῦρ πνέοντες, οἱ νενικηκότες τοὺς Λακεδαιμονί-
ους, οἱ τῷ παντὶ πλείους καὶ προσέτι ὑπερδέξια
χωρία ἔχοντες, οὐκ ἐδέξαντο τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἀρχί-
13 δαμον, ἀλλ' ἐγκλίνουσι. καὶ οἱ μὲν πρῶτοι τῶν
Ἐπαμεινώνδου ἀποθνήσκουσιν· ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἀγαλ-
λόμενοι τῇ νίκῃ ἐδίωξαν οἱ ἔνδοθεν πορρωτέρω
τοῦ καιροῦ, οὗτοι αὖ ἀποθνήσκουσιν· περιεγέ-
γραπτο γάρ, ὥς ἔοικεν, ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ μέχρι ὅσου
νίκη ἐδέδοτο αὐτοῖς. καὶ ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἀρχίδαμος
τροπαῖόν τε ἴστατο ἔνθα ἐπεκράτησε καὶ τοὺς
ἐνταῦθα πεσόντας τῶν πολεμίων ὑποσπόνδους

¹ καὶ οὐκ ἀνέβαινεν MSS.: Kel. brackets.

HELLENICA, VII. v. 10-13

the mercenary force and three of the battalions,¹ 362 B.C.
which numbered twelve.

Now when Epaminondas had arrived within the city² of the Spartiatae, he did not attempt to enter at the point where his troops would be likely to have to fight on the ground-level and be pelted from the house-tops, nor where they would fight with no advantage over the few, although they were many; but after gaining the precise position from which he believed that he would enjoy an advantage, he undertook to descend (instead of ascending) into the city. As for what happened thereupon, one may either hold the deity responsible, or one may say that nobody could withstand desperate men. For when Archidamus led the advance with not so much as a hundred men and, after crossing the very thing³ which seemed to present an obstacle, marched uphill against the adversary, at that moment the fire-breathers, the men who had defeated the Lacedaemonians, the men who were altogether superior in numbers and were occupying higher ground besides, did not withstand the attack of the troops under Archidamus, but gave way. And those in the van of Epaminondas' army were slain, but when the troops from within the city, exulting in their victory, pursued farther than was fitting, they in their turn were slain; for, as it seems, the line had been drawn by the deity indicating how far victory had been granted them. Archidamus accordingly set up a trophy at the spot where he had won the victory, and gave back under a truce those of the enemy who had fallen

¹ *cp.* iv. 20.

² *i.e.* the outlying portion of the city. Sparta had no walls.

³ Difficult ground, apparently.

- 14 ἀπεδίδου. ὁ δ' Ἐπαμεινώνδας λογιζόμενος ὅτι βοηθήσοιεν οἱ Ἀρκάδες εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα, ἐκείνοις μὲν οὐκ ἐβούλετο καὶ πᾶσι Λακεδαιμονίοις ὁμοῦ γενομένοις μάχεσθαι, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἡτύχηκόσι, τῶν δὲ ἀποτετυχηκότων· πάλιν δὲ πορευθεὶς ὡς ἐδύνατο τάχιστα εἰς τὴν Τεγέαν τοὺς μὲν ὀπλίτας ἀνέπαυσε, τοὺς δ' ἵππεας ἔπεμψεν εἰς τὴν Μαντίνειαν, δεηθεὶς αὐτῶν προσκαρτερῆσαι, καὶ διδάσκων ὡς πάντα μὲν εἰκὸς ἔξω εἶναι τὰ τῶν Μαντινέων βοσκήματα, πάντας δὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἄλλως τε καὶ σίτου συγκομιδῆς οὔσης.
- 15 Καὶ οἱ μὲν ὥχοντο· οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ἵππεῖς ὀρμηθέντες ἐξ Ἐλευσίνος ἐδειπνοποίησαντο μὲν ἐν Ἴσθμῳ, διελθόντες δὲ καὶ τὰς Κλεωνᾶς ἐτύγγχανον προσιόντες εἰς τὴν Μαντίνειαν καὶ καταστρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἐντὸς τείχους ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις. ἐπεὶ δὲ δῆλοι ἦσαν προσελαύνοντες οἱ πολέμιοι, ἐδέοντο οἱ Μαντινεῖς τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἵππεων βοηθῆσαι, εἴ τι δύναιτο· ἔξω γὰρ εἶναι καὶ τὰ βοσκήματα πάντα καὶ τοὺς ἐργάτας, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ παῖδας καὶ γεραιτέρους τῶν ἐλευθέρων. ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκβοιθοῦσιν, ἔτι ὄντες ἀνάριστοι καὶ αὐτοὶ
- 16 καὶ οἱ ἵπποι. ἐνταῦθα δὴ τούτων αὐτῶν τὴν ἀρετὴν τίς οὐκ ἂν ἀγασθείη; οἱ καὶ πολὺ πλείους ὀρώντες τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ ἐν Κορίνθῳ δυστυχήματος γεγενημένου τοῖς ἵππεῦσιν οὐδὲν τούτου ὑπελογίσαντο, οὐδ' ὅτι καὶ Θηβαίοις καὶ Θετταλοῖς τοῖς κρατίστοις ἵππεῦσιν εἶναι δοκοῦσιν ἔμελλον μάχεσθαι, ἀλλ' αἰσχυρόμενοι, εἰ παρ-

there. Epaminondas, on the other hand, reflecting 362 B.C. that the Arcadians would be coming to Lacedaemon to bring aid, had no desire to fight against them and against all the Lacedaemonians after they had come together,¹ especially since they had met with success and his men with disaster; so he marched back as rapidly as he could to Tegea, and allowed his hoplites to rest there, but sent his horsemen on to Mantinea, begging them to endure this additional effort and explaining to them that probably all the cattle of the Mantineans were outside the city and likewise all the people, particularly as it was harvest time.

They then set forth; but the Athenian horsemen, setting out from Eleusis, had taken dinner at the Isthmus and, after having passed through Cleonae also, chanced to be approaching Mantinea or to be already quartered within the wall in the houses. And when the enemy were seen riding toward the city, the Mantineans begged the Athenian horsemen to help them, if in any way they could; for outside the wall were all their cattle and the labourers, and likewise many children and older men of the free citizens. When the Athenians heard this they sallied forth to the rescue, although they were still without breakfast, they and their horses as well. Here, again, who would not admire the valour of these men also? For although they saw that the enemy were far more numerous, and although a misfortune had befallen the horsemen at Corinth, they took no account of this, nor of the fact that they were about to fight with the Thebans and the Thessalians, who were thought to be the best of horsemen, but rather, being ashamed to be at hand and yet render no

¹ *cp.* § 10.

- όντες μηδὲν ὠφελήσειαν τοὺς συμμάχους, ὥς
 εἶδον τάχιστα τοὺς πολεμίους, συνέρραξαν, ἐρῶν-
 17 τες ἀνασώσασθαι τὴν πατρίαν δόξαν. καὶ
 μαχόμενοι αἵτιοι μὲν ἐγένοντο τὰ ἔξω πάντα
 σωθῆναι τοῖς Μαντινεῦσιν, αὐτῶν δ' ἀπέθανοι
 ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί, καὶ ἀπέκτειναν δὲ δῆλον ὅτι τοιού-
 τους· οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτω βραχὺ ὄπλον ἐκάτεροι
 εἶχον ὧ οὐκ ἐξικνούντο ἀλλήλων. καὶ τοὺς μὲν
 φιλίους νεκροὺς οὐ προήκαντο, τῶν δὲ πολεμίῳ
 ἦν οὓς ὑποσπόνδους ἀπέδωσαν.
- 18 Ὁ δ' αὖ Ἐπαμεινώνδας, ἐνθυμούμενος ὅτι ὀλί-
 γων μὲν ἡμερῶν ἀνάγκη ἔσοιτο ἀπιέναι διὰ τὸ
 ἐξήκειν τῇ στρατείᾳ τὸν χρόνον, εἰ δὲ καταλείψοι
 ἐρήμους οἷς ἦλθε σύμμαχος, ἐκείνοι πολιορκή-
 σονται ὑπὸ τῶν ἀντιπάλων, αὐτὸς δὲ λελυμα-
 σμένος τῇ ἑαυτοῦ δόξῃ παντάπασιν ἔσοιτο, ἡττη-
 μένος μὲν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι σὺν πολλῷ ὀπλιτικῷ
 ὑπ' ὀλίγων, ἡττημένος δὲ ἐν Μαντινείᾳ ἵππο-
 μαχία, αἷτιος δὲ γεγεννημένος διὰ τὴν εἰς Πελο-
 πόννησον στρατείαν τοῦ συνεστάναι Λακεδαι-
 μονίους καὶ Ἀρκάδας καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ Ἡλείους
 καὶ Ἀθηναίους· ὥστε οὐκ ἐδόκει αὐτῷ δυνατόν
 εἶναι ἀμαχεῖ παρελθεῖν, λογιζομένῳ ὅτι εἰ μὲν
 νικῶν, πάντα ταῦτα ἀναλύσοιτο· εἰ δὲ ἀποθάνοι,
 καλὴν τὴν τελευτὴν ἡγήσατο ἔσεσθαι πειρωμένῳ
 19 τῇ πατρίδι ἀρχὴν Πελοποννήσου καταλιπεῖν. τὸ

service to their allies, just as soon as they saw the enemy they crashed upon them, eagerly desiring to win back their ancestral repute. And by engaging in the battle they did indeed prove the means of saving for the Mantineans everything that was outside the wall, but there fell brave men among them; and those also whom they slew were manifestly of a like sort; for neither side had any weapon so short that they did not reach one another therewith. And the Athenians did not abandon their own dead, and they gave back some of the enemy's under a truce.

As for Epaminondas, on the other hand, when he considered that within a few days it would be necessary for him to depart, because the time fixed¹ for the campaign had expired, and that if he should leave behind him unprotected the people to whom he had come as an ally, they would be besieged by their adversaries, while he himself would have completely tarnished his own reputation,—for with a large force of hoplites he had been defeated at Lacedaemon by a few, and defeated likewise in a cavalry battle at Mantinea, and through his expedition to Peloponnesus had made himself the cause of the union of the Lacedaemonians, the Arcadians, the Achaeans, the Eleans, and the Athenians,—he thought for these reasons that it was not possible for him to pass by the enemy without a battle, since he reasoned that if he were victorious, he would make up for all these things, while if he were slain, he deemed that such an end would be honourable for one who was striving to leave to his fatherland dominion over Peloponnesus. Now the fact that

¹ Apparently either by the Theban government or by agreement with the allies.

μὲν οὖν αὐτὸν τοιαῦτα διανοεῖσθαι οὐ πάνν μοι
 δοκεῖ θαυμαστὸν εἶναι· φιλοτίμων γὰρ ἀνδρῶν
 τὰ τοιαῦτα διανοήματα· τὸ μέντοι τὸ στράτευμα
 παρεσκευακέναι ὥς πόνον τε μηδὲνα ἀποκάμνειν
 μήτε νυκτὸς μήτε ἡμέρας, κινδύνου τε μηδενὸς
 ἀφίστασθαι, σπάνιά τε τὰπιτήδεια ἔχοντας ὁμως
 πείθεσθαι ἐθέλειν, ταῦτά μοι δοκεῖ θαυμαστότερα
 20 εἶναι. καὶ γὰρ ὅτε τὸ τελευταῖον παρήγγειλεν
 αὐτοῖς παρασκευάζεσθαι ὥς μάχης ἐσομένης,
 προθύμως μὲν ἐλευκοῦντο οἱ ἱππεῖς τὰ κράνη,
 κελεύοντος ἐκείνου, ἐπεγράφοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ τῶν
 Ἀρκάδων ὀπλίται ῥόπαλα, ὥς Θηβαῖοι ὄντες,
 πάντες δὲ ἡκουῶντο καὶ λόγχας καὶ μαχαίρας καὶ
 21 ἐλαμπρύνοντο τὰς ἀσπίδας. ἐπεὶ μέντοι οὕτω
 παρεσκευασμένους ἐξήγαγεν, ἄξιον αὖ κατανοῆσαι
 ἃ ἐποίησε. πρῶτον μὲν γάρ, ὥσπερ εἰκός, συνε-
 τάττετο. τοῦτο δὲ πράττων σαφηνίζειν ἐδόκει
 ὅτι εἰς μάχην παρεσκευάζετο· ἐπεὶ γε μὴν ἐτέ-
 τακτο αὐτῷ τὸ στράτευμα ὥς ἐβούλετο, τὴν μὲν
 συντομωτάτην πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους οὐκ ἦγε, πρὸς
 δὲ τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέραν ὄρη καὶ ἀντιπέραν τῆς Τεγέας
 ἡγεῖτο· ὥστε δόξαν παρείχε τοῖς πολεμίοις μὴ
 22 ποιήσεσθαι μάχην ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. καὶ γὰρ δὴ
 ὥς πρὸς τῷ ὄρει ἐγένετο, ἐπεὶ ἐξετάθη αὐτῷ ἡ
 φάλαγξ, ὑπὸ τοῖς ὑψηλοῖς ἔθετο τὰ ὄπλα, ὥστε
 εἰκάσθη στρατοπεδευομένῳ. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας
 ἔλυσε μὲν τῶν πλείστων πολεμίων τὴν ἐν ταῖς
 ψυχαῖς πρὸς μάχην παρασκευήν, ἔλυσε δὲ τὴν ἐν

Epaminondas himself entertained such thoughts, 362 B.C. seems to me to be in no wise remarkable,—for such thoughts are natural to ambitious men; but that he had brought his army to such a point that the troops flinched from no toil, whether by night or by day, and shrank from no peril, and although the provisions they had were scanty, were nevertheless willing to be obedient, this seems to me to be more remarkable. For at the time when he gave them the last order to make ready, saying that there would be a battle, the horsemen eagerly whitened their helmets at his command, the hoplites of the Arcadians painted clubs¹ upon their shields, as though they were Thebans, and all alike sharpened their spears and daggers and burnished their shields. But when he had led them forth, thus made ready, it is worth while again to note what he did. In the first place, as was natural, he formed them in line of battle. And by doing this he seemed to make it clear that he was preparing for an engagement; but when his army had been drawn up as he wished it to be, he did not advance by the shortest route towards the enemy, but led the way towards the mountains which lie to the westward and over against Tegea, so that he gave the enemy the impression that he would not join battle on that day. For as soon as he had arrived at the mountain, and when his battle line had been extended to its full length, he grounded arms at the foot of the heights, so that he seemed like one who was encamping. And by so doing he caused among most of the enemy a relaxation of their mental readiness for fighting, and likewise a relaxation of their readiness as regards their

¹ The Theban device.

- ταῖς συντάξεσιν. ἐπεὶ γε μὴν παραγαγὼν τοὺς ἐπὶ κέρως πορευομένους λόχους εἰς μέτωπον ἰσχυρὸν ἐποίησατο τὸ περὶ ἑαυτὸν ἔμβολον, τότε δὴ ἀναλαβεῖν παραγγείλας τὰ ὄπλα ἡγεῖτο· οἱ δ' ἡκολούθουν. οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ὡς εἶδον παρὰ δόξαν ἐπιόντας, οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν ἐδύνατο, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἔθعون εἰς τὰς τάξεις, οἱ δὲ παρετάττοντο, οἱ δὲ ἵππους ἐχαλίνουν, οἱ δὲ θώρακας ἐνεδύοντο, πάντες δὲ πεισομένοις τι μᾶλλον ἢ
- 23 ποιήσουσιν ἐφ' ἑκσαν. ὁ δὲ τὸ στράτευμα ἀντίπρωρον ὥσπερ τριήρη προσῆγε, νομίζων, ὅποι ἐμβαλὼν διακόψειε, διαφθερεῖν ὅλον τὸ τῶν ἐναντίων στράτευμα. καὶ γὰρ δὴ τῷ μὲν ἰσχυροτάτῳ παρεσκευάζετο ἀγωνίζεσθαι, τὸ δὲ ἀσθενέστατον πόρρῳ ἀπέστησεν, εἰδὼς ὅτι ἡττηθὲν ἀθυμίαν ἀνπαράσχοι τοῖς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ, ῥώμην δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις. καὶ μὴν τοὺς ἱππέας οἱ μὲν πολέμιοι ἀντιπαρετάξαντο ὥσπερ ὀπλιτῶν φύλαγγα βάθος ἐφ'
- 24 ἑξ καὶ ἔρημον πεζῶν ἀμίππων· ὁ δ' Ἐπαμεινώνδας αὖ καὶ τοῦ ἱππικοῦ ἔμβολον ἰσχυρὸν ἐποίησατο, καὶ ἀμίππους πεζοὺς συνέταξεν αὐτοῖς, νομίζων τὸ ἱππικὸν ἐπεὶ διακόψειεν, ὅλον τὸ ἀντίπαλον νενικηκῶς ἔσεσθαι· μάλα γὰρ χαλεπὸν εὐρεῖν τοὺς ἐθελήσοντας μένειν, ἐπειδὴν τινὰς φεύγοντας τῶν ἑαυτῶν ὁρῶσι· καὶ ὅπως μὴ ἐπι-

¹ The entire army, marching in a long column of even width, with Epaminondas at the head, "right-faced" upon reaching the desired position, thus forming a long battle-line,

array for battle. It was not until he had moved along successive companies to the wing where he was stationed, and had wheeled them into line, thus strengthening the mass formation of this wing,¹ that he gave the order to take up arms and led the advance; and his troops followed. Now as soon as the enemy saw them unexpectedly approaching, no one among them was able to keep quiet, but some began running to their posts, others forming into line, others bridling horses, and others putting on breast-plates, while all were like men who were about to suffer, rather than to inflict, harm. Meanwhile Epaminondas led forward his army prow on, like a trireme, believing that if he could strike and cut through anywhere, he would destroy the entire army of his adversaries. For he was preparing to make the contest with the strongest part of his force, and the weakest part he had stationed far back, knowing that if defeated it would cause discouragement to the troops who were with him and give courage to the enemy. Again, while the enemy had formed their horsemen like a phalanx of hoplites, —six deep and without intermingled foot soldiers,— Epaminondas on the other hand had made a strong column of his cavalry, also, and had mingled foot soldiers among them, believing that when he cut through the enemy's cavalry, he would have defeated the entire opposing army; for it is very hard to find men who will stand firm when they see any of their own side in flight. And in order to prevent of even, but slight, depth, with Epaminondas on the left wing. He wished, however, to increase the depth of this wing. He accordingly caused successive companies, from the centre and the right wing, to "left face" again and march along behind the line to the left wing, thus gradually increasing its depth.

362 B.C.

βοηθῶσιν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐωνύμου κέρατος ἐπὶ τὸ ἐχόμενον, κατέστησεν ἐπὶ γηλόφων τινῶν ἐναντίους αὐτοῖς καὶ ἱππέας καὶ ὀπλίτας, φόβον βουλόμενος καὶ τούτοις παρέχειν ὥς, εἰ βοηθήσαιεν, ὅπισθεν οὗτοι ἐπικείσονται αὐτοῖς.

Τὴν μὲν δὴ συμβολὴν οὕτως ἐποίησατο, καὶ οὐκ ἐψεύσθη τῆς ἐλπίδος· κρατήσας γὰρ ἡ προσέβαλεν ὅλον ἐποίησε φεύγειν τὸ τῶν ἐναντίων.
 25 ἐπεὶ γε μὴν ἐκείνος ἔπεσεν, οἱ λοιποὶ οὐδὲ τῇ νίκῃ ὀρθῶς ἔτι ἐδυνάσθησαν χρήσασθαι, ἀλλὰ φυγούσης μὲν αὐτοῖς τῆς ἐναντίας φάλαγγος οὐδένα ἀπέκτειναν οἱ ὀπλίται οὐδὲ προῆλθον ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου ἔνθα ἡ συμβολὴ ἐγένετο. φυγόντων δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν ἱππέων, ἀπέκτειναν μὲν οὐδ' οἱ ἱππεῖς διώκοντες οὔτε ἱππέας οὔθ' ὀπλίτας, ὥσπερ δὲ ἡττημένοι πεφοβημένως διὰ τῶν φευγόντων πολεμίων διέπεσον. καὶ μὴν οἱ ἄμιπποι καὶ οἱ πελτασταὶ συννενικηκότες τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ἀφίκοντο μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐωνύμου, ὥς κρατοῦντες, ἐκεῖ δ' ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων οἱ πλεῖστοι αὐτῶν ἀπέθανον.

26 Τούτων δὲ πραχθέντων τοῦναντίον ἐγεγένητο οὐ ἐνόμισαν πάντες ἄνθρωποι ἔσεσθαι. συνελθλυθυίας γὰρ σχεδὸν ἀπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ ἀντιτεταγμένων, οὐδεὶς ἦν ὅστις οὐκ ᾔετο, εἰ μάχῃ ἔσοιτο, τοὺς μὲν κρατήσαντας ἄρξειν, τοὺς δὲ κρατηθέντας ὑπηκόους ἔσεσθαι· ὁ δὲ θεὸς οὕτως ἐποίησεν ὥστε ἀμφοτέρω μὲν τροπαῖον ὥς

the Athenians on the left wing from coming to the aid of those who were posted next to them, he stationed both horsemen and hoplites upon some hills over against them, desiring to create in them the fear that if they proceeded to give aid, these troops would fall upon them from behind. 862 a.c.

Thus, then, he made his attack, and he was not disappointed of his hope; for by gaining the mastery at the point where he struck, he caused the entire army of his adversaries to flee. When, however, he had himself fallen, those who were left proved unable to take full advantage thereafter even of the victory; but although the opposing phalanx had fled before them, their hoplites did not kill a single man or advance beyond the spot where the collision had taken place; and although the cavalry also had fled before them, their cavalry in like manner did not pursue and kill either horsemen or hoplites, but slipped back timorously, like beaten men, through the lines of the flying enemy. Furthermore, while the intermingled footmen and the peltasts, who had shared in the victory of the cavalry, did make their way like victors to the region of the enemy's left wing, most of them were there slain by the Athenians.

When these things had taken place, the opposite of what all men believed would happen was brought to pass. For since well-nigh all the people of Greece had come together and formed themselves in opposing lines, there was no one who did not suppose that if a battle were fought, those who proved victorious would be the rulers and those who were defeated would be their subjects; but the deity so ordered it that both parties set up a trophy as though

νευικηκότες ἐστήσαντο, τοὺς δὲ ἰσταμένους οὐδέ-
 τεροι ἐκώλυον, νεκροὺς δὲ ἀμφοτέροι μὲν ὡς νευι-
 κηκότες ὑποσπόνδους ἀπέδοσαν, ἀμφοτέροι δὲ ὡς
 27 ἡττημένοι ὑποσπόνδους ἀπελάμβανον, νευικηκέναι
 δὲ φάσκοντες ἐκότεροι οὔτε χώρα οὔτε πόλει οὔτ'
 ἀρχῇ οὐδέτεροι οὐδὲν πλέον ἔχοντες ἐφάνησαν ἢ
 πρὶν τὴν μάχην γενέσθαι· ἀκρισία δὲ καὶ ταραχὴ
 ἵτι πλείων μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἐγένετο ἢ πρόσθεν ἐν
 τῇ Ἑλλάδι.

Ἐμοὶ μὲν δὴ μέχρι τούτου γραφέσθω· τὰ δὲ
 μετὰ ταῦτα ἴσως ἄλλω μελήσει.

victorious and neither tried to hinder those who set 862 a. o
 them up, that both gave back the dead under a
 truce as though victorious, and both received back
 their dead under a truce as though defeated, and
 that while each party claimed to be victorious,
 neither was found to be any better off, as regards
 either additional territory, or city, or sway, than
 before the battle took place; but there was even
 more confusion and disorder in Greece after the
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Thus far be it written by me; the events after
 these will perhaps be the concern of another

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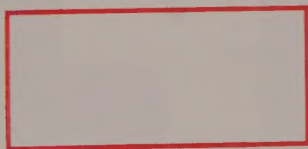
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